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SIR MATTHEW HALE.

William McDouglton

BURNET'S LIVES

OF

HALE, BEDELL, AND ROCHESTER.

HAMMOND'S LIFE OF FELL.

15



ROCHESTER.

London;

ENGRAVED FOR DOVE'S ENGLISH CLASSICS.

THE
LIVES
OF
HALE, BEDELL, AND ROCHESTER;
BY
BISHOP BURNET:
WITH
FELL'S LIFE OF DR. HAMMOND.



LONDON:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY J. F. DOVE,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

THE LIFE
OF
SIR MATTHEW HALE, K_{NT}.
LATE
LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND.



PREFACE.

No part of history is more instructive and delighting, than the lives of great and worthy men : the shortness of them invites many readers ; and there are such little and yet remarkable passages in them, too inconsiderable to be put in a general history of the age in which they lived, that all people are very desirous to know them. This makes Plutarch's Lives be more generally read than any of all the books, which the ancient Greeks or Romans writ.

But the lives of heroes and princes are commonly filled with the account of the great things done by them, which do rather belong to a general than a particular history, and do rather amuse the reader's fancy with a splendid show of greatness, than offer him what is really so useful to himself : and indeed the lives of princes are either writ with so much flattery, by those who intended to merit by it at their own hands, or others concerned in them ; or with so much spite, by those who, being ill used by them, have revenged themselves on their memory, that there is not much to be built on them. And though the ill-nature of many makes what is satirically writ to be generally more read and believed, than when the flattery is visible and coarse ; yet certainly resentment may make the writer corrupt the truth of history, as much as interest. And since all men have their blind sides, and commit errors, he that will industriously lay these together, leaving out, or but slightly touching, what should be set against them, to balance them, may make a very good man appear in bad colours : so, upon the whole matter, there is not that reason to expect either much truth, or great instruction, from what is written concerning heroes or

princes; for few have been able to imitate the patterns Suetonius set the world, in writing the lives of the Roman Emperors with the same freedom that they had led them. But the lives of private men, though they seldom entertain the reader with such a variety of passages as the other do; yet certainly they offer him things that are more imitable, and do present wisdom and virtue to him, not only in a fair idea, which is often looked on as a piece of the invention or fancy of the writer, but in such plain and familiar instances, as do both direct him better, and persuade him more; and there are not such temptations to bias those who writ them, so that we may generally depend more on the truth of such relations as are given in them.

In the age in which we live, religion and virtue have been proposed and defended with such advantages, with that great force of reason, and those persuasions, that they can hardly be matched in former times: yet, after all this, there are but few much wrought on by them; which perhaps flows from this, among other reasons, that there are not so many excellent patterns set out, as might both in a shorter and more effectual manner recommend that to the world, which discourses do but coldly; the wit and style of the writer being more considered, than the argument which they handle; and therefore the proposing virtue and religion in such a model may perhaps operate more than the perspective of it can do: and for the history of learning, nothing does so preserve and improve it, as the writing the lives of those who have been eminent in it.

There is no book the ancients have left us, which might have informed us more than Diogenes Laertius's *Lives of the Philosophers*, if he had had the art of writing equal to that great subject which he undertook: for if he had given the world such an account of them as Gassendus has done of Peiresc, how great a stock of knowledge might we have had, which, by his unskilfulness, is in a great measure lost: since we must now depend only on him, because we have no other or better author, that has written on that argument.

For many ages there were no lives writ but by monks, through whose writings there runs such an incurable

humour of telling incredible and inimitable passages, that little in them can be believed or proposed as a pattern. Sulpitius Severus and Jerome shewed too much credulity in the lives they writ, and raised Martin and Hilarion beyond what can be reasonably believed. After them, Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen, and Palladius, took a pleasure to tell uncouth stories of the monks of Thebais, and Nitria: and those who came after them scorned to fall short of them, but raised their saints above those of former ages; so that one would have thought that indecent way of writing could rise no higher: and this humour infected even those who had otherwise a good sense of things, and a just apprehension of mankind, as may appear in Matthew Paris; who though he was a writer of great judgment and fidelity, yet he has corrupted his History with much of that alloy. But when emulation and envy rose among the several orders or houses, then they improved in that art of making romances, instead of writing lives, to that pitch, that the world became generally much scandalized with them. The Franciscans and Dominicans tried who could say the most extravagant things of the founders, or other saints of their orders; and the Benedictines, who thought themselves possessed of the belief of the world, as well as of its wealth, endeavoured all that was possible still to keep up the dignity of their order, by out-lying the others all they could: and whereas here or there a miracle, a vision, or trance, might have occurred in the lives of former saints; now every page was full of those wonderful things.

Nor has the humour of writing in such a manner been quite laid down in this age, though more awakened and better enlightened, as appears in the life of Philip Neri, and a great many more: and the Jesuits at Antwerp are now taking care to load the world with a vast and voluminous collection of all those lives, that has already swelled to eleven volumes in folio, in a small print; and yet being digested according to the Calendar, they have yet but ended the month of April. The life of Monsieur Renty is writ in another manner, where there are so many excellent passages, that he

is justly to be reckoned amongst the greatest patterns that France has afforded in this age.

But while some have nourished infidelity, and a scorn of all sacred things, by writing of those good men in such a strain, as makes not only what is so related to be disbelieved, but creates a distrust of the authentical writings of our most holy faith; others have fallen into another extreme, in writing lives too jejune, swelling them up with trifling accounts of the childhood and education, and the domestic or private affairs, of those persons of whom they write, in which the world is little concerned: by these they become so flat, that few care to read them; for certainly those transactions are only fit to be delivered to posterity, that may carry with them some useful-piece of knowledge to after-times.

I have now an argument before me, which will afford indeed only a short history, but will contain in it as great a character as perhaps can be given of any in this age; since there are few instances of more knowledge and greater virtues meeting in one person. I am upon one account (beside many more) unfit to undertake it, because I was not at all known to him; so I can say nothing from my own observation: but, upon second thoughts, I do not know whether this may not qualify me to write more impartially, though perhaps more defectively; for the knowledge of extraordinary persons does most commonly bias those, who were much wrought on, by the tenderness of their friendship for them, to raise their style a little too high, when they write concerning them. I confess I knew him as much as the looking often upon him could amount to. The last year of his being in London, he came always on Sundays (when he could go abroad) to the Chapel of the Rolls, where I then preached. In my life I never saw so much gravity tempered with that sweetness, and set off with so much vivacity as appeared in his looks and behaviour, which disposed me to a veneration for him, which I never had for any, with whom I was not acquainted. I was seeking an opportunity of being admitted to his conversation; but I understood that, between a great

want of health, and a multiplicity of business, which his employment brought upon him, he was master of so little of his time, that I stood in doubt whether I might presume to rob him of any of it; and so he left the town before I could resolve on desiring to be known to him.

My ignorance of the law of England made me also unfit to write of a man, a great part of whose character, as to his learning, is to be taken from his skill in the common law, and his performance in that. But I shall leave that to those of the same robe; since if I engaged much in it, I must needs commit many errors, writing of a subject that is foreign to me.

The occasion of my undertaking this was given me first by the earnest desires of some that have great power over me; who, having been much obliged by him, and holding his memory in high estimation, thought I might do it some right by writing his life. I was then engaged in the History of the Reformation; so I promised, that, as soon as that was over, I should make the best use I could of such informations and memorials as should be brought me.

This I have now performed in the best manner I could, and have brought into method all the parcels of his life, or the branches of his character, which I could either gather from the informations that were brought me, or from those that were familiarly acquainted with him, or from his writings. I have not applied any of the false colours, with which art or some forced eloquence might furnish me, in writing concerning him; but have endeavoured to set him out in the same simplicity in which he lived. I have said little of his domestic concerns, since though in these he was a great example, yet it signifies nothing to the world to know any particular exercises, that might be given to his patience; and therefore I shall draw a veil over all these, and shall avoid saying any thing of him, but what may afford the reader some profitable instruction. I am under no temptations of saying any thing, but what I am persuaded is exactly true; for where there is so much excellent truth to be told, it were an inexcusable fault to corrupt that, or

prejudice the reader against it, by the mixture of falsehoods with it.

In short, as he was a great example while he lived, so I wish the setting him thus out to posterity in his own true and native colours may have its due influence on all persons; but more particularly on those of that profession, whom it more immediately concerns, whether on the Bench, or at the Bar.

SIR MATTHEW HALE

Was born at Alderly in Gloucestershire, the first of November, 1609. His grandfather was Robert Hale, an eminent clothier in Wotton-under-Edge in that county, where he and his ancestors had lived for many descents; and they had given several parcels of land for the use of the poor, which are enjoyed by them to this day. This Robert acquired an estate of ten thousand pound, which he divided almost equally amongst his five sons; besides the portions he gave his daughters, from whom a numerous posterity has sprung. His second son was Robert Hale, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn: he married Joan the daughter of Matthew Poyntz, of Alderly, Esquire, who was descended from that noble family of the Poyntz's of Acton. Of this marriage there was no other issue but this one son. His grandfather by his mother was his godfather, and gave him his own name at his baptism. His father was a man of that strictness of conscience, that he gave over the practice of the law, because he could not understand the reason of giving colour in pleadings, which as he thought was to tell a lie; and that, with some other things commonly practised, seemed to him contrary to that exactness of truth and justice which became a Christian; so that he withdrew himself from the Inns of Court, to live on his estate in the country. Of this I was informed by an ancient gentleman, that lived in a friendship with his son for fifty years; and he heard Judge Jones, that was Mr. Hale's contemporary, declare this in the King's Bench. But as the care he had to save his soul made him abandon a profession, in which he might have raised his family much higher; so his charity to his poor neighbours made him not only deal his alms largely among them while he lived, but at his death he left (out of his small estate, which was 100l. a year) 20l. a year to the poor of Wotton, which his son confirmed to them with some addition, and with this regulation, that it should be distri-

buted among such poor housekeepers, as did not receive the alms of the parish; for to give it to those was only, as he used to say, to save so much money to the rich, who by law were bound to relieve the poor of the parish.

Thus he was descended rather from a good than a noble family; and yet what was wanting in the insignificant titles of high birth and noble blood, was more than made up in the true worth of his ancestors. But he was soon deprived of the happiness of his father's care and instruction; for as he lost his mother before he was three years old, so his father died before he was five; so early was he cast on the providence of God. But that unhappiness was in a great measure made up to him; for after some opposition made by Mr. Thomas Poyntz, his uncle by his mother, he was committed to the care of Anthony Kingscot, of Kingscot, Esquire, who was his next kinsman, after his uncles, by his mother.

Great care was taken of his education, and his guardian intended to breed him to be a divine; and, being inclined to the way of those then called Puritans, put him to some schools that were taught by those of that party, and in the 17th year of his age sent him to Magdalen Hall in Oxford, where Obadiah Sedgwick was his tutor. He was an extraordinary proficient at school, and for some time at Oxford: but the stage-players coming thither, he was so much corrupted by seeing many plays, that he almost wholly forsook his studies. By this he not only lost much time, but found that his head came to be thereby filled with such vain images of things, that they were at best unprofitable, if not hurtful to him; and being afterward sensible of the mischief of this, he resolved, upon his coming to London (where he knew the opportunities of such sights would be more frequent and inviting), never to see a play again: to which he constantly adhered.

The corruption of a young man's mind in one particular generally draws on a great many more after it: so he, being now taken off from following his studies, and from the gravity of his deportment, that was formerly eminent in him far beyond his years, set himself to many of the vanities incident to youth, but still

preserved his purity, and a great probity of mind. He loved fine clothes, and delighted much in company; and, being of a strong robust body, he was a great master at all those exercises that required much strength. He also learned to fence, and handle his weapons; in which he became so expert, that he worsted many of the masters of those arts: but as he was exercising of himself in them, an instance appeared, that shewed a good judgment, and gave some hopes of better things. One of his masters told him, he could teach him no more, for he was now better at his own trade than himself was. This Mr. Hale looked on as flattery: so, to make the master discover himself, he promised him the house he lived in, for he was his tenant, if he could hit him a blow on the head; and bad him do his best, for he would be as good as his word. So, after a little engagement, his master, being really superior to him, hit him on the head, and he performed his promise; for he gave him the house freely; and was not unwilling at that rate to learn so early to distinguish flattery from plain and simple truth.

He now was so taken up with martial matters, that, instead of going on in his design of being a scholar, or a divine, he resolved to be a soldier; and his tutor Sedgwick going into the Low Countries, chaplain to the renowned Lord Vere, he resolved to go along with him, and to trail a pike in the Prince of Orange's army. But a happy stop was put to this resolution, which might have proved so fatal to himself, and have deprived the age of the great example he gave, and the useful services he afterward did his country. He was engaged in a suit of law with Sir William Whitmore, who laid claim to some part of his estate; and his guardian being a man of a retired temper, and not made for business, he was forced to leave the University, after he had been three years in it, and go to London to solicit his own business. Being recommended to Serjeant Glanvil for his counsellor, and he observing in him a clear apprehension of things, and a solid judgment, and a great fitness for the study of the law, took pains upon him to persuade him to forsake his thoughts of being a soldier, and to apply himself to the

study of the law: and this had so good an effect on him, that on the 8th of November, 1629, when he was past the twentieth year of his age, he was admitted into Lincoln's Inn; and being then deeply sensible how much time he had lost, and that idle and vain things had overrun and almost corrupted his mind, he resolved to redeem the time he had lost, and followed his studies with a diligence that could scarce be believed, if the signal effects of it did not gain it credit. He studied for many years at the rate of sixteen hours a day: he threw aside all fine clothes, and betook himself to a plain fashion, which he continued to use in many points to his dying day.

But since the honour of reclaiming him from the idleness of his former course of life is due to the memory of that eminent lawyer, Serjeant Glanvil; and since my design in writing is to propose a pattern of heroic virtue to the world; I shall mention one passage of the Serjeant, which ought never to be forgotten. His father had a fair estate, which he intended to settle on his elder brother: but he being a vicious young man, and there appearing no hopes of his recovery, he settled it on him, that was his second son. Upon his death, his eldest son, finding that what he had before looked on as the threatenings of an angry father was now but too certain, became melancholy; and that by degrees wrought so great a change on him, that what his father could not prevail in while he lived, was now effected by the severity of his last will; so that it was now too late for him to change in hopes of any estate that was gone from him. But his brother, observing the reality of the change, resolved within himself what to do: so he called him with many of his friends together to a feast; and, after other dishes had been served up to the dinner, he ordered one that was covered to be set before his brother, and desired him to uncover it; which he doing, the company was surprised to find it full of writings. So he told them, that he was now to do what he was sure his father would have done, if he had lived to see that happy change, which they now all saw in his brother: and therefore he freely restored to him the whole estate. This is so great an instance

of a generous and just disposition, that I hope the reader will easily pardon this digression; and that the rather, since that worthy Serjeant was so instrumental in the happy change that followed in the course of Mr. Hale's life.

Yet he did not at first break off from keeping too much company with some vain people, till a sad accident drove him from it; for he, with some other young students, being invited to be merry out of town, one of the company called for so much wine, that, notwithstanding all that Mr. Hale could do to prevent it, he went on in his excess, till he fell down as dead before them; so that all that were present were not a little affrighted at it, who did what they could to bring him to himself again. This did particularly affect Mr. Hale, who thereupon went into another room, and, shutting the door, fell on his knees, and prayed earnestly to God, both for his friend, that he might be restored to life again, and that himself might be forgiven for giving such countenance to so much excess: and he vowed to God, that he would never again keep company in that manner, nor drink a health while he lived. His friend recovered, and he most religiously observed his vow till his dying day. And though he was afterward pressed to drink healths, particularly the King's, which was set up by too many as a distinguishing mark of loyalty, and drew many into great excess, after his Majesty's happy restoration; but he would never dispense with his vow, though he was sometimes roughly treated for this, which some hot and indiscreet men called obstinacy.

This wrought an entire change on him: now he forsook all vain company, and divided himself between the duties of religion, and the studies of his profession. In the former he was so regular, that for six-and-thirty years time he never once failed going to church on the Lord's day. This observation he made when an ague first interrupted that constant course; and he reflected on it, as an acknowledgment of God's great goodness to him, in so long a continuance of his health.

He took a strict account of his time, of which the reader will best judge by the scheme he drew for a

diary, which I shall insert, copied from the original: but I am not certain when he made it; it is set down in the same simplicity in which he writ it for his own private use.

MORNING.

I. To lift up the heart to God in thankfulness for renewing my life.

II. To renew my covenant with God in Christ,
1. By renewed acts of faith receiving Christ, and rejoicing in the height of that relation. 2. Resolution of being one of his people doing him allegiance.

III. Adoration and prayer.

IV. Setting a watch over my own infirmities and passions, over the snares laid in our way. *Perimus licitis.*

Day Employment.

There must be an employment, two kinds.

I. Our ordinary calling, to serve God in it. It is a service to Christ, though never so mean. Coloss. iii. Here *faithfulness, diligence, cheerfulness*. Not to over-lay myself with more business than I can bear.

II. Our spiritual employments, mingle somewhat of God's immediate service in this day.

Refreshments.

I. Meat and drink, moderation seasoned with somewhat of God.

II. Recreations. 1. Not our business. 2. Suitable. No games, if given to covetousness or passion.

If alone.

I. Beware of wandering, vain, lustful thoughts; fly from thyself rather than entertain these.

II. Let thy solitary thoughts be profitable; view the evidences of thy salvation, the state of thy soul, the coming of Christ, thy own mortality; it will make thee humble and watchful.

Company.

Do good to them. Use God's name reverently. Beware of leaving an ill impression of ill example. Receive good from them, if more knowing.

EVENING.

Cast up the accounts of the day. If ought amiss, beg pardon. Gather resolution of more vigilance. If well, bless the mercy and grace of God that hath supported thee.

These notes have an imperfection in the wording of them, which shews they were only intended for his privacies. No wonder a man who set such rules to himself became quickly very eminent and remarkable.

Noy, the Attorney General, being then one of the greatest men of the profession, took early notice of him, and called often for him, and directed him in his study, and grew to have such friendship for him, that he came to be called young Noy. He passing from the extreme of vanity in his apparel, to that of neglecting himself too much, was once taken, when there was a press for the King's service, as a fit person for it; for he was a strong and well-built man: but some that knew him coming by, and giving notice who he was, the press-men let him go. This made him return to more decency in his clothes, but never to any superfluity or vanity in them.

Once as he was buying some cloth for a new suit, the draper, with whom he differed about the price, told him he should have it for nothing, if he would promise him a hundred pound when he came to be Lord Chief Justice of England. To which he answered, that he could not with a good conscience wear any man's cloth, unless he paid for it; so he satisfied the draper, and carried away the cloth. Yet the same draper lived to see him advanced to that same dignity.

While he was thus improving himself in the study of the law, he not only kept the hours of the Hall constantly in term-time, but seldom put himself out of commons in vacation-time; and continued then to follow his studies with an unwearied diligence; and not being satisfied with the books writ about it, or to take things upon trust, was very diligent in searching all records. Then did he make divers collections out of the books he had read, and, mixing them with his own observations, digested them into a common-place book; which

he did with so much industry and judgment, that an eminent Judge of the King's Bench borrowed it of him, when he was Lord Chief Baron. He unwillingly lent it, because it had been writ by him before he was called to the Bar, and had never been thoroughly revised by him since that time; only what alterations had been made in the law by subsequent statutes and judgments, were added by him as they had happened. But the Judge, having perused it, said, that though it was composed by him so early, he did not think any lawyer in England could do it better, except he himself would again set about it.

He was soon found out by that great and learned antiquary Mr. Selden, who though much superior to him in years, yet came to have such a liking of him, and of Mr. Vaughan, who was afterward Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, that as he continued in a close friendship with them while he lived, so he left them at his death two of his four executors.

It was this acquaintance that first set Mr. Hale on a more enlarged pursuit of learning, which he had before confined to his own profession; but becoming as great a master in it as ever any was, very soon, he, who could never let any of his time go away unprofitably, found leisure to attain to as great a variety of knowledge, in as comprehensive a manner as most men have done in any age.

He set himself much to the study of the Roman law; and though he liked the way of judicature in England, by juries, much better than that of the Civil law, where so much was trusted to the Judge; yet he often said, that the true grounds and reasons of law were so well delivered in the *Digests*, that a man could never understand law as a science so well as by seeking it there; and therefore lamented much that it was so little studied in England.

He looked on readiness in arithmetic, as a thing which might be useful to him in his own employment; and acquired it to such a degree, that he would often on the sudden, and afterward on the Bench, resolve very hard questions, which had puzzled the best accountants about town. He rested not here; but

studied the algebra, both *speciosa* and *numerosa*, and went through all the other mathematical sciences; and made a great collection of very excellent instruments, sparing no cost to have them as exact as art could make them. He was also very conversant in philosophical learning, and in all the curious experiments and rare discoveries of this age: and had the new books written on those subjects sent him from all parts, which he both read and examined so critically, that if the principles and hypotheses, which he took first up, did any way prepossess him, yet those who have differed most from him have acknowledged, that in what he has writ concerning the Torricellian experiment, and of the rarefaction and condensation of the air, he shews as great an exactness, and as much subtilty in the reasoning he builds on them, as these principles, to which he adhered, could bear. But indeed it will seem scarce credible, that a man so much employed, and of so severe a temper of mind, could find leisure to read, observe, and write so much of these subjects as he did. He called them his diversions; for he often said, when he was weary with the study of the law, or divinity, he used to recreate himself with philosophy or the mathematics: to these he added great skill in physic, anatomy, and chirurgery; and he used to say, 'No man could be absolutely a master in any profession, without having some skill in other sciences;' for besides the satisfaction he had in the knowledge of these things, he made use of them often in his employments. In some examinations he would put such questions to physicians or chirurgeons, that they have professed the College of Physicians could not do it more exactly; by which he discovered great judgment, as well as much knowledge in these things. And in his sickness he used to argue with his doctors about his distempers, and the methods they took with them, like one of their own profession; which one of them told me he understood, as far as speculation without practice could carry him.

To this he added great searches into ancient history; and particularly into the roughest and least delightful part of it, chronology. He was well acquainted with

the ancient Greek philosophers; but want of occasion to use it wore out his knowledge of the Greek tongue; and though he never studied the Hebrew tongue, yet, by his great conversation with Selden, he understood the most curious things in the Rabbinical learning.

But above all these, he seemed to have made the study of divinity the chief of all others; to which he not only directed every thing else, but also arrived at that pitch in it, that those who have read what he has written on these subjects, will think they must have had most of his time and thoughts. It may seem extravagant, and almost incredible, that one man, in no great compass of years, should have acquired such a variety of knowledge, and that in sciences that require much leisure and application. But as his parts were quick, and his apprehensions lively; his memory great, and his judgment strong; so his industry was almost indefatigable. He rose always betimes in the morning; was never idle; scarce ever held any discourse about news, except with some few, in whom he confided entirely. He entered into no correspondence by letters, except about necessary business, or matters of learning; and spent very little time in eating or drinking: for as he never went to public feasts, so he gave no entertainments but to the poor; for he followed our Saviour's direction (of feasting none but these) literally: and in eating and drinking he observed not only great plainness and moderation, but lived so *philosophically*, that he always ended his meal with an appetite; so that he lost little time at it (that being the only portion which he grudged himself), and was disposed to any exercise of his mind, to which he thought fit to apply himself, immediately after he had dined. By these means he gained much time, that is otherwise unprofitably wasted.

He had also an admirable equality in the temper of his mind, which disposed him for whatever studies he thought fit to turn himself to; and some very uneasy things, which he lay under for many years, did rather engage him to, than distract him from, his studies.

When he was called to the Bar, and began to make a figure in the world, the late unhappy wars broke out,

in which it was no easy thing for a man to preserve his integrity, and to live securely, free from great danger and trouble. He had read the life of Pomponius Atticus, writ by Nepos; and having observed, that he had passed through a time of as much distraction as ever was in any age or state, from the wars of Marius and Sylla, to the beginning of Augustus's reign, without the least blemish on his reputation, and free from any considerable danger, being held in great esteem by all parties, and courted and favoured by them; he set him as a pattern to himself: and observing, that, besides those virtues which are necessary to all men, and at all times, there were two things that chiefly preserved Atticus; the one was his *engaging in no faction*, and *meddling in no public business*; the other was his *constant favouring and relieving those that were lowest*; which was ascribed by such as prevailed to the generosity of his temper, and procured him much kindness from those on whom he had exercised his bounty, when it came to their turn to govern; he resolved to guide himself by those rules as much as was possible for him to do.

He not only avoided all public employment, but the very talking of news; and was always both favourable and charitable to those who were depressed, and was sure never to provoke any in particular, by censuring or reflecting on their actions: for many that have conversed much with him, have told me they never heard him once speak ill of any person.

He was employed in his practice by all the King's party: he was assigned counsel to the Earl of Strafford, and Archbishop Laud, and afterward to the blessed King himself, when brought to the infamous pageantry of a mock trial; and offered to plead for him with all the courage that so glorious a cause ought to have inspired him with; but was not suffered to appear, because the King refusing, as he had good reason, to submit to the Court, it was pretended none could be admitted to speak for him. He was also counsel for the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and the Lord Capel. His plea for the former of these I have published in the Memoirs of that Duke's life. After-

ward also being counsel for the Lord Craven, he pleaded with that force of argument, that the then Attorney General threatened him for appearing against the government: to whom he answered, he was 'pleading in defence of those laws, which they declared they would maintain and preserve; and he was doing his duty to his client; so that he was not to be daunted with threatenings.'

Upon all these occasions he had discharged himself with so much learning, fidelity, and courage, that he came to be generally employed for all that party: nor was he satisfied to appear for their just defence in the way of his profession, but he also relieved them often in their necessities; which he did in a way that was no less prudent than charitable, considering the dangers of that time: for he did often deposit considerable sums in the hands of a worthy gentleman of the King's party, who knew their necessities well, and was to distribute his charity according to his own discretion, without either letting them know from whence it came, or giving himself any account to whom he had given it.

Cromwell, seeing him possessed of so much practice, and he being one of the eminentest men of the law, who was not at all afraid of doing his duty in those critical times, resolved to take him off from it, and raise him to the Bench.

Mr. Hale saw well enough the snare laid for him; and though he did not much consider the prejudice it would be to himself to exchange the easy and safer profits he had by his practice, for a Judge's place in the Common Pleas, which he was required to accept of; yet he did deliberate more on the lawfulness of taking a commission from usurpers: but having considered well of this, he came to be of opinion, 'That it being absolutely necessary to have justice and property kept up at all times, it was no sin to take a commission from usurpers, if he made no declaration of his acknowledging their authority;' which he never did. He was much urged to accept of it by some eminent men of his own profession, who were of the King's party; as Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and Sir Geoffery Palmer; and was also satisfied concerning the lawful-

ness of it, by the resolution of some famous divines, in particular Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Henchman, who were afterward promoted to the sees of Canterbury and London.

To these were added the importunities of all his friends; who thought that, in a time of so much danger and oppression, it might be no small security to the nation, to have a man of his integrity and abilities on the Bench: and the usurpers themselves held him in that estimation, that they were glad to have him give a countenance to their courts; and, by promoting one that was known to have different principles from them, affected the reputation of honouring and trusting men of eminent virtues, of what persuasion soever they might be in relation to public matters.

But he had greater scruples concerning the proceeding against felons, and putting offenders to death by that commission; since he thought, the sword of justice belonging only by right to the lawful Prince, it seemed not warrantable to proceed to a capital sentence by an authority derived from usurpers. Yet at first he made distinction between common and ordinary felonies, and offences against the state: for the last, he would never meddle in them; for he thought these might be often legal and warrantable actions, and that the putting men to death on that account was murder. But for the ordinary felonies, he at first was of opinion, that it was as necessary, even in times of usurpation, to execute justice in those cases, as in matters of property. But after the King was murdered, he laid by all his collections of the Pleas of the Crown; and, that they might not fall into ill hands, he hid them behind the wainscoting of his study; for he said, 'there was no more occasion to use them, till the King should be again restored to his right;' and so, upon his Majesty's restoration, he took them out, and went on in his design to perfect that great work.

Yet, for some time after he was made a Judge, when he went the circuit, he did sit on the crown side, and judged criminals: but, having considered farther of it, he came to think, that it was at least better not to do it; and so, after the second or third circuit, he re-

fused to sit any more on the crown side, and told plainly the reason; for in matters of blood he was always to choose the safer side: and indeed he had so carried himself in some trials, that they were not unwilling he should withdraw from meddling farther in them; of which I shall give some instances.

Not long after he was made a Judge, which was in the year 1653, when he went the circuit, a trial was brought before him at Lincoln, concerning the murder of one of the townsmen, who had been of the King's party, and was killed by a soldier of the garrison there. He was in the fields with a fowling-piece on his shoulder; which the soldier seeing, he came to him, and said, it was contrary to an order, which the Protector had made, 'That none who had been of the King's party should carry arms;' and so he would have forced it from him: but as the other did not regard the order, so being stronger than the soldier, he threw him down, and having beat him, he left him. The soldier went into the town, and told one of his fellow-soldiers how he had been used, and got him to go with him, and lie in wait for the man, that he might be revenged on him. They both watched his coming to town, and one of them went to him to demand his gun; which he refusing, the soldier struck at him; and as they were struggling, the other came behind, and ran his sword into his body, of which he presently died. It was in the time of the assizes, so they were both tried. Against the one there was no evidence of forethought felony, so he was only found guilty of manslaughter, and burnt on the hand; but the other was found guilty of murder. And though Colonel Whaley, that commanded the garrison, came into the court, and urged, 'That the man was killed only for disobeying the Protector's order,' and 'that the soldier was but doing his duty;' yet the Judge regarded both his reasons and threatenings very little: and therefore he not only gave sentence against him, but ordered the execution to be so suddenly done, that it might not be possible to procure a reprieve; which he believed would have been obtained, if there had been time enough granted for it.

Another occasion was given him of shewing both his justice and courage, when he was in another circuit. He understood that the Protector had ordered a jury to be returned for a trial, in which he was more than ordinarily concerned. Upon this information, he examined the sheriff about it, who knew nothing of it; for he said, he referred all such things to the under-sheriff: and having next asked the under-sheriff concerning it, he found the jury had been returned by order from Cromwell: upon which he shewed the statute, that all juries ought to be returned by the sheriff, or his lawful officer: and this not being done according to law, he dismissed the jury, and would not try the cause: upon which the Protector was highly displeased with him, and at his return from the circuit he told him in anger, 'He was not fit to be a Judge:' to which all the answer he made was, 'That it was very true.'

Another thing met him in the circuit, upon which he resolved to have proceeded severely. Some Anabaptists had rushed into a church, and had disturbed a congregation while they were receiving the sacrament, not without some violence. At this he was highly offended; for he said, 'It was intolerable for men, who pretended so highly to liberty of conscience, to go and disturb others; especially those who had the encouragement of the law on their side.' But these were so supported by some great magistrates and officers, that a stop was put to his proceedings; upon which he declared, he would 'meddle no more with the trials on the crown side.'

When Penruddock's trial was brought on, there was a special messenger sent to him, requiring him to assist at it. It was in vacation-time, and he was at his country-house at Alderly. He plainly refused to go, and said, 'The four terms and two circuits were enough, and the little interval that was between was little enough for their private affairs;' and so he excused himself. He thought it was not necessary to speak more clearly; but if he had been urged to it, he would not have been afraid of doing it.

He was at that time chosen a Parliament man (for

there being then no House of Lords, Judges might have been chosen to sit in the House of Commons), and he went to it, on design to obstruct the mad and wicked projects then on foot, by two parties, that had very different principles and ends.

On the one hand, some that were perhaps more sincere, yet were really brain-sick, designed they knew not what, being resolved to pull down a standing ministry, the law and property of England, and all the ancient rules of this government, and set up in its room an indigested enthusiastical scheme, which they called the *kingdom of Christ*, or of his *Saints*; many of them being really in expectation, that one day or another Christ would come down and sit among them; and at least they thought to begin the glorious thousand years mentioned in the Revelation.

Others at the same time taking advantages from the fears and apprehensions, that all the sober men of the nation were in, lest they should fall under the tyranny of a distracted sort of people, who to all their other ill principles added great cruelty, which they had copied from those at Munster in the former age, intended to improve that opportunity to raise their own fortunes and families. Amidst these Judge Hale steered a middle course; for as he would engage for neither side, so he, with a great many more worthy men, came to Parliaments more out of a design to hinder mischief, than to do much good; wisely foreseeing, that the inclinations for the Royal family were daily growing so much, that in time the disorders then in agitation would ferment to that happy resolution, in which they determined in May, 1660. And therefore all that could be then done was, to oppose the ill designs of both parties, the Enthusiasts as well as the Usurpers. Among the other extravagant motions made in this Parliament, one was, to 'destroy all the records in the Tower,' and to 'settle the nation on a new foundation:' so he took this province to himself, to shew the madness of this proposition, the injustice of it, and the mischiefs that would follow on it; and did it with such clearness and strength of reason, as not only satisfied all sober persons (for it may be supposed that was soon

done), but stopped even the mouths of the frantic people themselves.

Thus he continued administering justice till the Protector died; but then he both refused the mournings, that were sent to him and his servants for the funeral, and likewise to accept of the new commission, that was offered him by Richard: and when the rest of the Judges urged it upon him, and employed others to press him to accept of it, he rejected all their importunities, and said, 'He could act no longer under such authority.'

He lived a private man till the Parliament met that called home the King, to which he was returned Knight of the shire from the county of Gloucester. It appeared at that time how much he was beloved and esteemed in his neighbourhood; for though another, who stood in competition with him, had spent near a thousand pounds to procure voices, a great sum to be employed that way in these days, and he had been at no cost; and was so far from soliciting it, that he had stood out long against those who pressed him to appear; and he did not promise to appear, till three days before the election; yet he was preferred. He was brought thither almost by violence, by the Lord (now Earl of) Berkeley, who bore all the charge of the entertainments on the day of his election, which was considerable, and had engaged all his friends and interest for him. And whereas by the writ the knight of a shire must be *miles gladio cinctus*, and he had no sword, that noble Lord girt him with his own sword during the election; but he was soon weary of it, for the embroidery of the belt did not suit well with the plainness of his clothes; and indeed the election did not hold long; for as soon as ever he came into the field, he was chosen by much the greater number, though the poll continued for three or four days.

In that Parliament he bore his share in the happy period then put to the confusions that threatened the utter ruin of the nation, which, contrary to the expectations of the most sanguine, settled in so serene and quiet a manner, that those who had formerly built so much on their success, calling it an answer

from Heaven to their solemn appeals to the Providence of God, were now not a little confounded to see all this turned against themselves, in an instance much more extraordinary than any of those were, upon which they had built so much. His great prudence and excellent temper led him to think, that the sooner an act of indemnity were passed, and the fuller it were of graces and favours, it would sooner settle the nation, and quiet the minds of the people; and therefore he applied himself with a particular care to the framing and carrying it on: in which it was visible he had no concern of his own, but merely his love of the public that set him on to it.

Soon after this, when the courts in Westminster Hall came to be settled, he was made Lord Chief Baron; and when the Earl of Clarendon (then Lord Chancellor) delivered him his commission, in the speech he made, according to the custom on such occasions, he expressed his esteem of him in a very singular manner; telling him, among other things, 'That if the King could have found out an honester and fitter man for that employment, he would not have advanced him to it;' and 'that he had therefore preferred him, because he knew none that deserved it so well.' It is ordinary for persons so promoted to be knighted; but he desired to avoid having that honour done him, and therefore for a considerable time declined all opportunities of waiting on the King; which the Lord Chancellor observing, sent for him upon business one day, when the King was at his house, and told his Majesty, there was his modest Chief Baron; upon which he was unexpectedly knighted.

He continued eleven years in that place, managing the court, and all proceedings in it, with singular justice. It was observed by the whole nation how much he raised the reputation and practice of it: and those who held places and offices in it can all declare, not only the impartiality of his justice, for that is but a common virtue, but his generosity, his vast diligence, and his great exactness in trials. This gave occasion to the only complaint that ever was made of him, 'That he did not dispatch matters quick enough.' But the

great care he used to put suits to a final end, as it made him slower in deciding them, so it had this good effect; that causes tried before him were seldom, if ever, tried again.

Nor did his administration of justice lie only in that court: he was one of the principal Judges that sate in Clifford's Inn, about settling the difference between landlord and tenant, after the dreadful fire of London; he being the first that offered his service to the city, for accommodating all the differences that might have arisen about the rebuilding of it; in which he behaved himself to the satisfaction of all persons concerned: so that the sudden and quiet building of the city, which is justly to be reckoned one of the wonders of the age, is in no small measure due to the great care, which he and Sir Orlando Bridgeman (then Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, afterward Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England) used, and to the judgment they shewed in that affair: since, without the rules then laid down, there might have otherwise followed such an endless train of vexatious suits, as might have been little less chargeable than the fire itself had been. But without detracting from the labours of the other Judges, it must be acknowledged, that he was the most instrumental in that great work; for he first, by way of scheme, contrived the rules, upon which he and the rest proceeded afterward; in which his readiness at arithmetic, and his skill in architecture, were of great use to him.

But it will not seem strange that a Judge behaved himself as he did, who at the entry into his employment set such excellent rules to himself, which will appear in the following paper, copied from the original under his own hand.

*Things necessary to be continually had
in remembrance.*

- I. That in the administration of justice I am intrusted for God, the King, and country; and therefore,
- II. That it be done, 1. uprightly, 2. deliberately, 3. resolutely.

III. That I rest not upon my own understanding or strength; but implore and rest upon the direction and strength of God.

IV. That in the execution of justice I carefully lay aside my own passions, and not give way to them, however provoked.

V. That I be wholly intent upon the business I am about, remitting all other cares and thoughts, as unseasonable, and interruptions.

VI. That I suffer not myself to be prepossessed with any judgment at all, till the whole business and both parties be heard.

VII. That I never engage myself in the beginning of any cause; but reserve myself unprejudiced till the whole be heard.

VIII. That in business capital, though my nature prompt me to pity, yet to consider, that there is also a pity due to the country.

IX. That I be not too rigid in matters purely conscientious, where all the harm is diversity of judgment.

X. That I be not biassed with compassion to the poor, or favour to the rich, in point of justice.

XI. That popular, or court applause, or distaste, have no influence into any thing I do in point of distribution of justice.

XII. Not to be solicitous what men will say or think, so long as I keep myself exactly according to the rules of justice.

XIII. If in criminals it be a measuring cast, to incline to mercy and acquittal.

XIV. In criminals that consist merely in words, when no more harm ensues, moderation is no injustice.

XV. In criminals of blood, if the fact be evident, severity is justice.

XVI. To abhor all private solicitations, of what kind soever, and by whomsoever, in matters depending.

XVII. To charge my servants, 1. Not to interpose in any business whatsoever. 2. Not to take more than their known fees. 3. Not to give any undue precedence to causes. 4. Not to recommend counsel.

XVIII. To be short and sparing at meals, that I may be the fitter for business.

He would never receive private addresses or recommendations from the greatest persons in any matter, in which justice was concerned. One of the first Peers of England went once to his chamber, and told him, 'That having a suit in law to be tried before him, he was then to acquaint him with it, that he might the better understand it, when it should come to be heard in court.' Upon which the Lord Chief Baron interrupted him, and said, 'He did not deal fairly to come to his chamber about such affairs; for he never received any information of causes but in open court, where both parties were to be heard alike : ' so he would not suffer him to go on. Whereupon his Grace (for he was a Duke) went away not a little dissatisfied, and complained of it to the King, as a rudeness that was not to be endured. But his Majesty bid him content himself that he was no worse used; and said, 'He verily believed he would have used himself no better, if he had gone to solicit him in any of his own causes.'

Another passage fell out in one of his circuits, which was somewhat censured as an affectation of an unreasonable strictness; but it flowed from his exactness to the rules he had set himself. A gentleman had sent him a buck for his table, that had a trial at the assizes: so when he heard his name, he asked, 'if he was not the same person that had sent him venison?' and finding he was the same, he told him, 'He could not suffer the trial to go on, till he had paid him for his buck.' To which the gentleman answered, 'That he never sold his venison; and that he had done nothing to him, which he did not do to every Judge that had gone that circuit; which was confirmed by several gentlemen then present: but all would not do; for the Lord Chief Baron had learned from Solomon, that 'a gift perverteth the ways of judgment;' and therefore he would not suffer the trial to go on, till he had paid for the present: upon which the gentleman withdrew the record. And at Salisbury, the Dean and Chapter having, according to the custom, presented him with six sugar-loaves in his circuit, he made his

servants pay for the sugar before he would try their cause.

It was not so easy for him to throw off the importunities of the poor, for whom his compassion wrought more powerfully than his regard to wealth and greatness: yet, when justice was concerned, even that did not turn him out of the way. There was one that had been put out of a place for some ill behaviour, who urged the Lord Chief Baron to set his hand to a certificate to restore him to it, or provide him with another: but he told him plainly, 'his fault was such, that he could not do it.' The other pressed him vehemently, and fell down on his knees, and begged it of him with many tears: but finding that could not prevail, he said, 'He should be utterly ruined if he did it not;' and 'he should curse him for it every day.' But that having no effect, then he fell out into all the reproachful words that passion and despair could inspire him with: to which all the answer the Lord Chief Baron made was, 'That he could very well bear all his reproaches, but he could not for all that set his hand to his certificate.' He saw he was poor, so he gave him a large charity, and sent him away.

But now he was to go on after his pattern Pomponius Atticus, still to favour and relieve them that were lowest: so, besides great charities to the Nonconformists, who were then, as he thought, too hardly used, he took great care to cover them all he could from the severities some designed against them, and discouraged those who were inclined to stretch the laws too much against them. He lamented the differences that were raised in this Church very much; and, according to the impartiality of his justice, he blamed some things on both sides, which I shall set down with the same freedom that he spake them. He thought many of the Nonconformists had merited highly in the business of the King's restoration, and at least deserved that the terms of conformity should not have been made stricter than they were before the war. There was not then that dreadful prospect of Popery, that has appeared since. But that which afflicted him most was, that he saw the heats and

contentions, which followed upon those different parties and interests, did take people off from the indispensable things of religion, and slackened the zeal of other ways good men for the substance of it; so much being spent about external and indifferent things. It also gave advantages to Atheists to treat the most sacred points of our holy faith as ridiculous, when they saw the professors of it contend so fiercely, and with such bitterness, about lesser matters. He was much offended at all those books that were written to expose the contrary sect to the scorn and contempt of the age, in a wanton and petulant style: he thought such writers wounded the Christian religion, through the sides of those who differed from them; while a sort of lewd people, who having assumed to themselves the title of the *Wits* (though but a very few of them have a right to it), took up from both hands what they had said, to make one another shew ridiculous; and from thence persuaded the world to laugh at both, and at all religion for their sakes: and therefore he often wished there might be some law to make all scurrility or bitterness in disputes about religion punishable. But as he lamented the proceedings too rigorously against the Nonconformists, so he declared himself always of the side of the Church of England; and said, those of the separation were good men, but they had narrow souls, who would break the peace of the Church, about such inconsiderable matters as the points in difference were.

He scarce ever meddled in State-intrigues; yet, upon a proposition that was set on foot by the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, for a comprehension of the more moderate Dissenters, and a limited indulgence towards such as could not be brought within the comprehension, he dispensed with his maxim of *avoiding to engage in matters of State*. There were several meetings upon that occasion. The Divine of the Church of England, that appeared most considerably for it, was Dr. Wilkins, afterward promoted to the bishopric of Chester; a man of as great a mind, as true a judgment, as eminent virtues, and of as good a soul, as any I ever knew. He being determined as well by his excellent temper,

as by his foresight and prudence, by which he early perceived the great prejudices that religion received, and the vast dangers the Reformation was like to fall under by those divisions ; set about that project with the magnanimity that was indeed peculiar to himself : for though he was much censured by many of his own side, and seconded by very few, yet he pushed it as far as he could. After several conferences with two of the eminentest of the Presbyterian Divines, heads were agreed on, some abatements were to be made, and explanations were to be accepted of. The particulars of that project being thus concerted, they were brought to the Lord Chief Baron, who put them in form of a bill, to be presented to the next sessions of Parliament.

But two parties appeared vigorously against this design : the one was of some zealous Clergymen, who thought it below the dignity of the Church to alter laws, and change settlements, for the sake of some whom they esteemed Schismatics. They also believed it was better to keep them out of the Church than bring them into it, since a faction upon that would arise in the Church, which they thought might be more dangerous than the schism itself was. Besides, they said, if some things were now to be changed in compliance with the humour of a party ; as soon as that was done, another party might demand other concessions ; and there might be as good reasons invented for these as for those : many such concessions might also shake those of our own communion, and tempt them to forsake us, and go over to the church of Rome ; pretending, that we changed so often, that they were thereby inclined to be of a church that was constant and true to herself. These were the reasons brought, and chiefly insisted on, against all comprehension ; and they wrought upon the greater part of the House of Commons, so that they passed a vote against the receiving of any bill for that effect.

There were others that opposed it upon very different ends : they designed to shelter the Papists from the execution of the law, and saw clearly that nothing could bring in Popery so well as a toleration. But to

tolerate Popery barefaced would have startled the nation too much; so it was necessary to hinder all the propositions for union, since the keeping up the differences was the best colour they could find for getting the toleration to pass only as a slackening the laws against Dissenters, whose numbers and wealth made it advisable to have some regard to them; and under this pretence Popery might have crept in more covered and less regarded. So these counsels being more acceptable to some concealed Papists then in great power, as has since appeared but too evidently, the whole project for comprehension was let fall; and those who had set it on foot came to be looked on with an ill eye, as secret favourers of the Dissenters, underminers of the Church, and every thing else that jealousy and distaste could cast on them.

But upon this occasion the Lord Chief Baron and Dr. Wilkins came to contract a firm and familiar friendship; and the Lord Chief Baron having much business, and little time to spare, did, to enjoy the other the more, what he had scarce ever done before; he went sometimes to dine with him. And though he lived in great friendship with some other eminent Clergymen, as Dr. Ward, Bishop of Salisbury; Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Barrow, late Master of Trinity College; Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, and Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's (men so well known, and so much esteemed, that as it was no wonder the Lord Chief Baron valued their conversation highly, so those of them that are yet alive will think it no lessening of the character they are so deservedly in, that they are reckoned among Judge Hale's friends); yet there was an intimacy and freedom in his converse with Bishop Wilkins, that was singular to him alone. He had, during the late wars, lived in a long and entire friendship with the apostolical Primate of Ireland, Bishop Usher: their curious searches into antiquity, and the sympathy of both their tempers, led them to a great agreement almost in every thing. He held also great conversation with Mr. Baxter, who was his neighbour at Acton, on whom he looked as a person of great devotion and piety, and of a very subtile and quick ap-

prehension: their conversation lay most in metaphysical and abstracted ideas and schemes.

He looked with great sorrow on the impiety and atheism of the age; and so he set himself to oppose it, not only by the shining example of his own life, but by engaging in a cause, that indeed could hardly fall into better hands: and as he could not find a subject more worthy of himself, so there were few in the age that understood it so well, and could manage it more skilfully. The occasion that first led him to write about it was this: he was a strict observer of the Lord's day; in which, besides his constancy in the public worship of God, he used to call all his family together, and repeat to them the heads of the sermons, with some additions of his own, which he fitted for their capacities and circumstances; and that being done, he had a custom of shutting himself up for two or three hours; which he either spent in his secret devotions, or on such profitable meditations as did then occur to his thoughts. He writ them with the same simplicity that he formed them in his mind, without any art, or so much as a thought to let them be published. He never corrected them; but laid them by, when he had finished them, having intended only to fix and preserve his own reflections in them; so that he used no sort of care to polish them, or make the first draught perfecter than when they fell from his pen. These fell into the hands of a worthy person, and he judging, as well he might, that the communicating them to the world might be a public service, printed two volumes of them in octavo, a little before the Author's death; containing his

CONTEMPLATIONS.

- I. Of our latter end.
- II. Of wisdom, and the fear of God.
- III. Of the knowledge of Christ crucified.
- IV. The victory of faith over the world.
- V. Of humility.
- VI. Jacob's vow.
- VII. Of contentation.
- VIII. Of afflictions.

IX. A good method to entertain unstable and troublesome times.

X. Changes and troubles: a Poem.

XI. Of the redemption of time.

XII. The great audit.

XIII. Directions touching keeping the Lord's day: in a letter to his children.

XIV. Poems written upon Christmas-day.

In the second Volume.

I. An inquiry touching happiness.

II. Of the chief end of man.

III. Upon Eccles. xii. 1. 'Remember thy Creator.'

IV. Upon Psalm li. 10. 'Create a clean heart in me.'

With a Poem.

V. The folly and mischief of sin.

VI. Of self-denial.

VII. Motives to watchfulness, in reference to the good and evil angels.

VIII. Of moderation of the affections.

IX. Of worldly hope and expectation.

X. Upon Heb. xiii. 14. 'We have here no continuing city.'

XI. Of contentedness and patience.

XII. Of moderation of anger.

XIII. A preparative against afflictions.

XIV. Of submission, prayer, and thanksgiving.

XV. Of prayer and thanksgiving, on Psalm cxvi. 12.

XVI. Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, with a paraphrase upon it.

In them there appears a generous and true spirit of religion, mixed with most serious and fervent devotion; and perhaps with the more advantage, that the style wants some correction, which shews they were the genuine productions of an excellent mind, entertaining itself in secret with such contemplations. The style is clear and masculine, in a due temper between flatness and affectation; in which he expresses his thoughts both easily and decently. In writing these Discourses, having run over most of the subjects that his own circumstances led him chiefly to consider, he began to be

in some pain to choose new arguments ; and therefore resolved to fix on a theme that should hold him longer.

He was soon determined in his choice, by the immoral and irreligious principles and practices, that had so long vexed his righteous soul ; and therefore began a great design against Atheism ; the first part of which is only printed, of the Origination of Mankind, designed to prove the creation of the world, and the truth of the Mosaical history.

The second part was of the Nature of the Soul, and of a Future State.

The third part was concerning the Attributes of God, both from the abstracted ideas of him, and the light of Nature ; the evidence of Providence, the notions of morality, and the voice of conscience.

And the fourth part was concerning the Truth and Authority of the Scriptures, with answers to the objections against them. On writing these he spent seven years. He wrote them with so much consideration, that one, who perused the original under his own hand, which was the first draught of it, told me, he did not remember of any considerable alteration, perhaps not of twenty words in the whole work.

The way of his writing them, only on the evenings of the Lord's day, when he was in town, and not much oftener when he was in the country, made, that they are not so contracted, as it is very likely he would have writ them, if he had been more at leisure to have brought his thoughts into a narrower compass, and fewer words.

But making some allowance for the largeness of the style, that volume that is printed is generally acknowledged to be one of the perfectest pieces, both of learning and reasoning, that has been writ on that subject. And he, who read a great part of the other volumes, told me, they were all of a piece with the first.

When he had finished this work, he sent it by an unknown hand to Bishop Wilkins, to desire his judgment of it ; but he that brought it would give no other account of the author, but that he was not a clergyman. The Bishop and his worthy friend Dr. Tillotson read a great deal of it with much pleasure ; but could not

imagine who could be the author, and how a man that was master of so much reason, and so great a variety of knowledge, should be so unknown to them, that they could not find him out by those characters, which are so little common. At last Dr. Tillotson guessed it must be the Lord Chief Baron; to which the other presently agreed, wondering he had been so long in finding it out. So they went immediately to him, and the Bishop thanking him for the entertainment he had received from his works, he blushed extremely, not without some displeasure, apprehending that the person he had trusted had discovered him. But the Bishop soon cleared that, and told him, 'He had discovered himself; for the learning of that book was so various, that none but he could be the author of it.' And that Bishop having a freedom in delivering his opinion of things and persons, which perhaps few ever managed both with so much plainness and prudence, told him, 'There was nothing could be better said on these arguments, if he could bring it into a less compass; but if he had not leisure for that, he thought it much better to have it come out, though a little too large, than that the world should be deprived of the good which it must needs do.' But our Judge had never the opportunities of revising it; so, a little before his death, he sent the first part of it to the press.

In the beginning of it he gives an essay of his excellent way of methodizing things; in which he was so great a master, that whatever he undertook he would presently cast into so perfect a scheme, that he could never afterward correct it. He runs out copiously upon the argument of the impossibility of an eternal succession of time, to shew that time and eternity are inconsistent one with another; and that therefore all duration that was past, and defined by time, could not be from eternity; and he shews the difference between successive eternity already past, and one to come: so that though the latter is possible, the former is not so; for all the parts of the former have actually been, and therefore, being defined by time, cannot be eternal; whereas the other are still future to all eternity; so that this reasoning cannot be turned to prove the pos-

sibility of eternal successions that have been, as well as eternal successions that shall be. This he follows with a strength I never met with in any that managed it before him.

He brings next all those moral arguments, to prove that the world had a beginning, agreeing to the account Moses gives of it; as that no history rises higher, than near the time of the deluge; and that the first foundation of kingdoms, the invention of arts, the beginnings of all religions, the gradual plantation of the world, and increase of mankind, and the consent of nations, do agree with it. In managing these, as he shews profound skill both in historical and philosophical learning; so he gives a noble discovery of his great candour and probity, that he would not impose on the reader with a false show of reasoning by arguments that he knew had flaws in them; and therefore upon every one of these he adds such allays, as in a great measure lessened and took off their force, with as much exactness of judgment, and strictness of censure, as if he had been set to plead for the other side; and indeed sums up the whole evidence for religion as impartially as ever he did in a trial for life or death to the jury; which how equally and judiciously he always did, the whole nation well knows.

After that he examines the ancient opinions of the philosophers; and enlarges with a great variety of curious reflections, in answering that only argument that has any appearance of strength for the casual production of man, from the origination of insects out of putrefied matter, as is commonly supposed; and he concluded the book, shewing how rational and philosophical the account which Moses gives of it is. There is in it all a sagacity and quickness of thought, mixed with great and curious learning, that I confess I never met together in any other book on that subject. Among other conjectures, one he gives concerning the deluge is, 'That he did not think the face of the earth, and the waters, were altogether the same before the universal deluge, and after: but possibly the face of the earth was more even than now it is; the seas possibly more dilated and extended, and not so deep as now.'

And a little after, 'Possibly the seas have undermined much of the appearing continent of earth.' This I the rather take notice of, because it hath been, since his death, made out in a most ingenious and most elegantly written book, by Mr. Burnet of Christ's College in Cambridge, who has given such an essay towards the proving the possibility of an universal deluge, and from thence has collected, with great sagacity, what Paradise was before it, as has not been offered by any philosopher before him.

While the Judge was thus employing his time, the Lord Chief Justice Keyling dying, he was, on the 18th of May 1671, promoted to be Lord Chief Justice of England. He had made the Pleas of the Crown one of his chief studies; and by much search, and long observation, had composed that great work concerning them, formerly mentioned; he that holds the high office of Justiciary in that court being the chief trustee and assertor of the liberties of his country. All people applauded this choice, and thought their liberties could not be better deposited, than in the hands of one, that, as he understood them well, so he had all the justice and courage, that so sacred a trust required. One thing was much observed and commended in him; that when there was a great inequality in the ability and learning of the counsellors that were to plead one against another, he thought it became him, as the Judge, to supply that: so he would enforce what the weaker counsel managed but indifferently, and not suffer the more learned to carry the business by the advantage they had over the others, in their quickness and skill in law, and readiness in pleading, till all things were cleared, in which the merits and strength of the ill-defended cause lay. He was not satisfied barely to give his judgment in causes; but did, especially in all intricate ones, give such an account of the reasons that prevailed with him, that the counsel did not only acquiesce in his authority, but were so convinced by his reasons, that I have heard many profess, that he brought them often to change their opinions; so that his giving of judgment was really a learned lecture upon that point of law: and which was

yet more, the parties themselves, though interest does too commonly corrupt the judgment, were generally satisfied with the justice of his decisions, even when they were made against them. His impartial justice and great diligence drew the chief practice after him, into whatsoever court he came. Since, though the courts of the Common Pleas, the Exchequer, and the King's Bench, are appointed for the trial of causes of different natures; yet it is easy to bring most causes into any of them, as the counsel or attornies please: so, as he had drawn the business much after him, both into the Common Pleas and the Exchequer, it now followed him into the King's Bench; and many causes, that were depending in the Exchequer, and not determined, were let fall there, and brought again before him in the court to which he was now removed. And here did he spend the rest of his public life and employment. But about four years and a half after this advancement, he, who had hitherto enjoyed a firm and vigorous health, to which his great temperance, and the equality of his mind, did not a little conduce, was on a sudden brought very low by an inflammation in his midriff, which in two days time broke the constitution of his health to such a degree, that he never recovered it. He became so asthmatical, that with great difficulty he could fetch his breath, that determined in a dropsy, of which he afterward died. He understood physic so well, that, considering his age, he concluded his distemper must carry him off in a little time; and therefore he resolved to have some of the last months of his life reserved to himself, that, being freed of all worldly cares, he might be preparing for his change. He was also so much disabled in his body, that he could hardly, though supported by his servants, walk through Westminster Hall, or endure the toil of business. He had been a long time wearied with the distractions that his employment had brought on him, and his profession was become ungrateful to him. He loved to apply himself wholly to better purposes, as will appear by a paper, that he writ on this subject, which I shall here insert.

‘First, If I consider the business of my profession,

whether as an Advocate or as a Judge; it is true, I do acknowledge, by the institution of Almighty God, and the dispensation of his providence, I am bound to industry and fidelity in it: and as it is an act of obedience unto his will, it carries with it some things of religious duty, and I may and do take comfort in it, and expect a reward of my obedience to him, and the good that I do to mankind therein, from the bounty and beneficence, and promise of Almighty God. And it is true also, that without such employments civil societies cannot be supported, and great good redounds to mankind from them: and in these respects, the conscience of my own industry, fidelity, and integrity in them, is a great comfort and satisfaction to me. But yet this I must say concerning these employments, considered simply in themselves, that they are very full of cares, anxieties, and perturbations.

‘ Secondly, That though they are beneficial to others, yet they are of the least benefit to him that is employed in them.

‘ Thirdly, That they do necessarily involve the party, whose office it is, in great dangers, difficulties, and calumnies.

‘ Fourthly, That they only serve for the meridian of this life, which is short and uncertain.

‘ Fifthly, That though it be my duty faithfully to serve in them, while I am called to them, and till I am duly called from them, yet they are great consumers of that little time we have here; which, as it seems to me, might be better spent in a pious contemplative life, and a due provision for eternity. I do not know a better temporal employment than Martha had, in testifying her love and duty to our Saviour, by making provision for him: yet our Lord tells her, That, though she was troubled about many things, there was only one thing necessary; and Mary had chosen the better part.’

By this the reader will see, that he continued in his station upon no other consideration, but that being set in it by the providence of God, he judged he could not abandon that post which was assigned him, without preferring his own private inclination to the choice

God had made for him. But now that same Providence having by this great distemper disengaged him from the obligation of holding a place, which he was no longer able to discharge, he resolved to resign it. This was no sooner surmised abroad, than it drew upon him the importunities of all his friends, and the clamour of the whole Town, to divert him from it; but all was to no purpose. There was but one argument that could move him, which was, 'That he was obliged to continue in the employment God had put him in, for the good of the public.' But to this he had such an answer, that even those who were most concerned in his withdrawing could not but see, that the reasons inducing him to it were but too strong. So he made applications to his Majesty for his Writ of Ease, which the King was very unwilling to grant him, and offered to let him hold his place still, he doing what business he could in his chamber: but he said, 'He could not with a good conscience continue in it,' since he was no longer able to discharge the duty belonging to it.

But yet, such was the general satisfaction, which all the kingdom received by his excellent administration of justice, that the King, though he could not well deny his request, yet he deferred the granting of it as long as was possible. Nor could the Lord Chancellor be prevailed with to move the King to hasten his discharge, though the Chief Justice often pressed him to it.

At last, having wearied himself and all his friends with his importunate desires, and growing sensibly weaker in body, he did, upon the 21st day of February, 28 Car. II. anno Dom. 1675-6, go before a Master of the Chancery, with a little parchment-deed, drawn by himself, and written all with his own hand, and there sealed and delivered it, and acknowledged it to be enrolled; and afterward he brought the original deed to the Lord Chancellor, and did formally surrender his office in these words.

'Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos præsens scriptura pervenerit, Matheus Hale, Miles, Capitalis Justiciarius Domini Regis ad placita coram ipso Rege tenenda assignatus, salutem in Domino sempiternam: Noveritis me præfatum Matheum Hale, Militem, jam senem fac-

tum, et variis corporis mei senilis morbis et infirmitatibus dire laborantem et adhuc detentum, hâc chartâ meâ resignare et sursum reddere : renissimo Domino nostro Carolo Secundo, Dei gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, &c. prædictum officium Capitalis Justiciarii ad placita coram ipso Rege tenenda, humillime petens quod hoc scriptum irrotuletur de recordo. In cujus rei testimonium huic chartæ meæ resignationis sigillum meum apposui. Datum vicesimo primo die Februarii, anno regni dict. Dom. Regis nunc vicesimo octavo.'

He made this instrument, as he told the Lord Chancellor, for two ends ; the one was to shew the world his own free concurrence to his removal ; another was to obviate an objection heretofore made, 'That a Chief Justice, being placed by writ, was not removable at pleasure, as Judges by patent were : ' which opinion, as he said, was once held by his predecessor the Lord Chief Justice Keyling : and though he himself were always of another opinion, yet he thought it reasonable to prevent such a scruple.

He had the day before surrendered to the King in person, who parted from him with great grace, wishing him most heartily the return of his health ; and assuring him, 'That he would still look upon him as one of his Judges, and have recourse to his advice, when his health would permit ; and in the mean time would continue his pension during his life.'

The good man thought this bounty too great, and an ill precedent for the King ; and therefore writ a letter to the Lord Treasurer, earnestly desiring, that his pension might be only during pleasure. But the King would grant it for life, and make it payable quarterly.

And yet, for a whole month together, he would not suffer his servant to sue out his patent for his pension ; and when the first payment was received, he ordered a great part of it to charitable uses ; and said, he intended most of it should be so employed, as long as it was paid him.

At last he happened to die upon the quarter-day, which was Christmas-day ; and though this might

have given some occasion to a dispute, whether the pension for that quarter were recoverable; yet the King was pleased to decide that matter against himself, and ordered the pension to be paid to his executors.

As soon as he was discharged from his great place, he returned home with as much cheerfulness as his want of health could admit of; being now eased of a burden he had been of late groaning under, and so made more capable of enjoying that which he had much wished for, according to his elegant translation of, or rather paraphrase upon, those excellent lines in Seneca's *Thyestes*, act. ii.

Stet quicunque volet potens
Aulæ culmine lubrico :
Me dulcis saturet quies.
Obscuro positus loco,
Leni perfruar otio,
Nullis nota Quiritibus
Ætas per tacitum fluat.
Sic cum transierint mei
Nullo cum strepitu dies,
Plebcus moriar senex.
Illi mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur sibi.

Let him that will ascend the tottering seat
Of courtly grandeur, and become as great
As are his mounting wishes: As for me,
Let sweet repose and rest my portion be.
Give me some mean, obscure recess; a sphere
Out of the road of business, or the fear
Of falling lower: where I sweetly may
Myself and dear retirement still enjoy.
Let not my life or name be known unto
The Grandees of the time, tost to and fro
By censures or applause; but let my age
Slide gently by; not overthwart the stage
Of public action, unheard, unseen,
And unconcern'd, as if I ne'er had been.
And thus, while I shall pass my silent days
In shady privacy, free from the noise
And bustles of the mad world, then shall I
A good old innocent plebeian die.
Death is a mere surprise, a very snare
To him that makes it his life's greatest care
To be a public pageant, known to all,
But unacquainted with himself doth fail.

Having now attained to that privacy, which he had no less seriously than piously wished for, he called all his servants that had belonged to his office together, and told them, 'He had now laid down his place, and so their employments were determined.' Upon that, he advised them to see for themselves, and gave to some of them very considerable presents; and to every one of them a token; and so dismissed all those that were not his domestics. He was discharged the 15th of February 1675-6, and lived till the Christmas following; but all the while was in so ill a state of health, that there was no hopes of his recovery. He continued still to retire often, both for his devotions and studies; and, as long as he could go, went constantly to his closet: and when his infirmities increased on him, so that he was not able to go thither himself, he made his servants carry him thither in a chair. At last, as the winter came on, he saw, with great joy, his deliverance approaching: for, besides his being weary of the world, and his longings for the blessedness of another state, his pains increased so on him, that no patience inferior to his could have borne them without a great uneasiness of mind; yet he expressed to the last such submission to the will of God, and so equal a temper under them, that it was visible then what mighty effects his philosophy and Christianity had on him, in supporting him under such a heavy load.

He could not lie down in bed above a year before his death, by reason of the asthma; but sat rather than lay in it.

He was attended on in his sickness by a pious and worthy divine, Mr. Evan Griffith, minister of the parish; and it was observed, that in all the extremities of his pain, whenever he prayed by him, he forbore all complaints or groans; but with his hands and eyes lifted up, was fixed in his devotions. Not long before his death, the minister told him, 'There was to be a sacrament next Sunday at church; but he believed he could not come and partake with the rest; therefore he would give it to him in his own house.' But he answered, 'No; his heavenly Father had prepared a feast for him, and he would go to his Father's

house to partake of it.' So he made himself be carried thither in his chair, where he received the sacrament on his knees, with great devotion; which it may be supposed was the greater, because he apprehended it was to be his last, and so took it as his *viaticum*, and provision for his journey. He had some secret unaccountable presages of his death; for he said, 'that if he did not die on such a day' (which fell to be the 25th of November), 'he believed he should live a month longer;' and he died that very day month. He continued to enjoy the free use of his reason and sense to the last moment, which he had often and earnestly prayed for during his sickness. And when his voice was so sunk, that he could not be heard, they perceived, by the almost constant lifting up of his eyes and hands, that he was still aspiring towards that blessed state, of which he was now speedily to be possessed.

He had for many years a particular devotion for Christmas-day; and after he had received the sacrament, and been in the performance of the public worship of that day, he commonly wrote a copy of verses on the honour of his Saviour, as a fit expression of the joy he felt in his soul, at the return of that glorious anniversary. There are seventeen of those copies printed, which he writ on seventeen several Christmas-days, by which the world has a taste of his poetical genius; in which, if he had thought it worth his time to have excelled, he might have been eminent, as well as in other things: but he writ them rather to entertain himself, than to merit the laurel.

I shall here add one, which has not been yet printed; and it is not unlikely it was the last he writ. It is a paraphrase on Simeon's Song. I take it from his blotted copy, not at all finished; so the reader is to make allowance for any imperfection he may find in it.

Blessed Creator, who before the birth
Of time, or ere the pillars of the earth
Were fix'd or form'd, didst lay that great design
Of man's redemption; and didst define
In thine eternal counsels all the scene
Of that stupendous business, and when

It should appear: and though the very day
Of its epiphany concealed lay
Within thy mind, yet thou wert pleas'd to shew
Some glimpses of it unto men below,
In visions, types, and prophecies; as we
Things at a distance in perspective see.
But thou wert pleas'd to let thy servant know
That that blest hour, that seem'd to move so slow
Through former ages, should at last attain
Its time, ere my few sands, that yet remain,
Are spent; and that these aged eyes
Should see the day when Jaecob's Star should rise.
And now thou hast fulfill'd it, blessed Lord,
Dismiss me now, according to thy word;
And let my aged body now return
To rest, and dust, and drop into an urn:
For I have liv'd enough; mine eyes have seen
Thy much-desir'd salvation, that hath been
So long, so dearly wish'd, the joy, the hope
Of all the ancient patriarchs, the scope
Of all the prophecies, and mysteries,
Of all the types unveil'd, the histories
Of Jewish Church unriddled, and the bright
And orient sun arisen to give light
To Gentiles, and the joy of Israel,
The world's Redeemer, blest Emanuel.
Let this sight close mine eyes; 'tis loss to see,
After this vision, any sight but thee.

Thus he used to sing on the former Christmas-days; but now he was to be admitted to bear his part in the new songs above: so that day, which he had spent in so much spiritual joy, proved to be indeed the day of his jubilee and deliverance; for between two and three in the afternoon, he breathed out his righteous and pious soul. His end was peace; he had no strugglings, nor seemed to be in any pangs in his last moments. He was buried on the 4th of January, Mr. Griffith preaching the funeral sermon. His text was the 57th of Isaiah, ver. 1. 'The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering, that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come.' Which, how fitly it was applicable upon this occasion, all that consider the course of his life will easily conclude. He was interred in the church-yard of Alderly, among his ancestors. He did not much approve of burying in churches; and

used to say, 'The churches were for the living, and the church-yards for the dead.' His monument was like himself, decent and plain; the tomb-stone was black marble, and the sides were black and white marble; upon which he himself had ordered this bare and humble inscription to be made:

HIC INHUMATUR CORPUS
MATTHEI HALE, MILITIS;
ROBERTI HALE, ET JOANNÆ, UXORIS EJUS,
FILII UNICI.
NATI IN HAC PAROCHIA DE ALDERLY,
PRIMO DIE NOVEMBRIS,
ANNO DOM. 1609.
DENATI VERO IBIDEM
VICESIMO QUINTO DIE DECEMBRIS,
ANNO DOM. 1676. ÆTATIS SUÆ LXVII.

Having thus given an account of the most remarkable things of his life, I am now to present the reader with such a character of him, as the laying his several virtues together will amount to: in which I know how difficult a task I undertake; for to write defectively of him were to injure him, and lessen the memory of one, to whom I intend to do all the right that is in my power. On the other hand, there is so much here to be commended, and proposed for the imitation of others, that I am afraid some may imagine I am rather making a picture of him, from an abstracted idea of great virtues and perfections, than setting him out as he truly was. But there is great encouragement in this, that I write concerning a man so fresh in all people's remembrance, that is so lately dead, and was so much and so well known, that I shall have many vouchers, who will be ready to justify me in all that I am to relate, and to add a great deal to what I can say.

It has appeared in the account of his various learning, how great his capacities were, and how much they were improved by constant study. He rose always early in the morning; he loved to walk much abroad; not only for his health, but he thought it opened his mind, and enlarged his thoughts, to have the creation of God before his eyes. When he set

himself to any study, he used to cast his design in a scheme, which he did with a great exactness of method: he took nothing on trust, but pursued his inquiries as far as they could go; and as he was humble enough to confess his ignorance, and submit to mysteries, which he could not comprehend; so he was not easily imposed on by any shows of reason, or the bugbears of vulgar opinions. He brought all his knowledge as much to scientific principles as he possibly could, which made him neglect the study of tongues; for the bent of his mind lay another way. Discouraging once of this to some, they said, 'They looked on the Common Law as a study that could not be brought into a scheme, nor formed into a rational science, by reason of the indigestedness of it, and the multiplicity of the cases in it, which rendered it very hard to be understood, or reduced into a method.' But he said, 'He was not of their mind;' and so, quickly after, he drew with his own hand a scheme of the whole order and parts of it, in a large sheet of paper, to the great satisfaction of those to whom he sent it. Upon this hint, some pressed him to compile a body of the English law: it could hardly ever be done by a man who knew it better, and would with more judgment and industry have put it into method. But he said, 'As it was a great and noble design, which would be of vast advantage to the nation; so it was too much for a private man to undertake: it was not to be entered upon, but by the command of a Prince, and with the communicated endeavours of some of the most eminent of the profession.'

He had great vivacity in his fancy, as may appear by his inclination to poetry, and the lively illustrations, and many tender strains in his Contemplations: but he looked on eloquence and wit, as things to be used very chastely in serious matters, which should come under a severer inquiry: therefore he was, both when at the Bar and on the Bench, a great enemy to all eloquence or rhetoric in pleading. He said, 'If the judge or jury had a right understanding, it signified nothing but a waste of time, and loss of words: and if they were weak, and easily wrought on, it was a more

decent way of corrupting them, by bribing their fancies, and biassing their affections:’ and wondered much at that affectation of the French lawyers, in imitating the Roman orators in their pleadings: for the oratory of the Romans was occasioned by their popular government, and the factions of the city; so that those who intended to excel in the pleading of causes, were trained up in the schools of the rhetors, till they became ready and expert in that luscious way of discourse. It is true, the composures of such a man as Tully was, who mixed an extraordinary quickness, an exact judgment, and a just decorum with his skill in rhetoric, do still entertain the readers of them with great pleasure: but at the same time it must be acknowledged, that there is not that chastity of style, that closeness of reasoning, nor that justness of figures in his Orations, that is in his other writings; so that a great deal was said by him, rather because he knew it would be acceptable to his auditors, than that it was approved of by himself: and all who read them will acknowledge, they are better pleased with them as essays of wit and style, than as pleadings, by which such a Judge as ours was, would not be much wrought on. And if there are such grounds to censure the performances of the greatest master in eloquence, we may easily infer what nauseous discourses the other orators made; since in oratory, as well as in poetry, none can do indifferently. So our Judge wondered to find the French, that live under a monarchy, so fond of imitating that, which was an ill effect of the popular government of Rome. He therefore pleaded himself always in few words, and home to the point. And when he was a Judge, he held those that pleaded before him to the main hinge of the business, and cut them short, when they made excursions about circumstances of no moment; by which he saved much time, and made the chief difficulties be well stated and cleared.

There was another custom among the Romans, which he as much admired, as he despised their rhetoric; which was, that the Jurisconsults were the men of the highest quality, who were bred to be capable of the

chief employment in the state, and became the great masters of their law. These gave their opinions of all cases that were put to them freely, judging it below them to take any present for it: and indeed they were only the true lawyers among them, whose resolutions were of that authority, that they made one *classis* of those materials, out of which Trebonian compiled the *Digests* under Justinian: for the orators, or *Causidici*, that pleaded causes, knew little of the law, and only employed their mercenary tongues to work on the affections of the people and senate, or the pretors. Even in most of Tully's Orations there is little of law; and that little, which they might sprinkle in their declamations, they had not from their own knowledge, but the resolution of some Jurisconsult: according to that famous story of Servius Sulpitius, who was a celebrated orator, and being to receive the resolution of one of those that were learned in the law, was so ignorant, that he could not understand it: upon which the Jurisconsult reproached him, and said, 'It was a shame for him, that was a nobleman, a senator, and a pleader of causes, to be thus ignorant of law.' This touched him so sensibly, that he set about the study of it, and became one of the most eminent Jurisconsults that ever were at Rome. Our Judge thought it might become the greatness of a Prince to encourage such a sort of men, and of studies; in which none in the age he lived in was equal to the great Selden, who was truly in our English law, what the old Roman Jurisconsults were in theirs.

But where a decent eloquence was allowable, Judge Hale knew how to have excelled as much as any, either in illustrating his reasonings, by proper and well pursued families, or by such tender expressions, as might work most on the affections; so that the present Lord Chancellor has often said of him since his death, 'That he was the greatest orator he had known;' for though his words came not fluently from him, yet when they were out, they were the most significant and expressive that the matter could bear. Of this sort there are many in his Contemplations, made to quicken his own devotion; which have a life

in them becoming him that used them, and a softness fit to melt even the harshest tempers, accommodated to the gravity of the subject, and apt to excite warm thoughts in the readers; that as they shew his excellent temper that brought them out, and applied them to himself, so they are of great use to all who would both inform and quicken their minds. Of his illustrations of things by proper similes I shall give a large instance, out of his book of the Origination of Mankind, designed to expose the several different hypotheses the philosophers fell on concerning the eternity and original of the universe; and to prefer the account given by Moses, to all their conjectures: in which, if my taste does not misguide me, the reader will find a rare and very agreeable mixture both of fine wit and solid learning and judgment.

‘ That which may illustrate my meaning, in this preference of the revealed light of the Holy Scriptures, touching this matter, above the essays of a philosophical imagination, may be this. Suppose that Greece being unacquainted with the curiosity of mechanical engines, though known in some remote region of the world; and that an excellent artist had secretly brought, and deposited in some field or forest, some excellent watch, or clock, which had been so formed, that the original of its motion were hidden, and involved in some close contrived piece of mechanism; that this watch was so framed, that the motion thereof might have lasted a year, or some such time as might give a reasonable period for their philosophical descanting concerning it; and that in the plain table there had been not only the description and indication of hours, but the configurations and indications of the various phases of the moon, the motion and place of the sun in the ecliptic, and divers other curious indications of celestial motions: and that the scholars of the several schools of Epicurus, of Aristotle, of Plato, and the rest of those philosophical sects, had casually in their walk found this admirable *automaton*; what kind of work would there have been made by every sect, in giving an account of this phenomenon? We should have had the Epicurean

sect have told the by-standers, according to their preconceived hypothesis, "That this was nothing else but an accidental concretion of atoms, that happily fallen together had made up the index, the wheels, and the balance; and that being happily fallen into this posture, they were put into motion." Then the Cartesian falls in with him, as to the main of their supposition; but tells him, "That he doth not sufficiently explicate how the engine is put into motion; and therefore, to furnish this motion, there is a certain *materia subtilis*, that pervades this engine, and the moveable parts, consisting of certain globular atoms, apt for motion; they are thereby, and by the mobility of the globular atoms, put into motion." A third finding fault with the two former, because "those motions are so regular, and do express the various phenomena of the distribution of time, and of the heavenly motions;" therefore it seems to him, that "this engine, and motion also, so analogical to the motions of the heavens, was wrought by some admirable conjunction of the heavenly bodies, which formed this instrument, and its motions, in such an admirable correspondency to its own existence." A fourth, disliking the suppositions of the three former, tells the rest, "That he hath a more plain and evident solution of the phenomenon, namely, the universal soul of the world, or spirit of nature, that formed so many sorts of insects with so many organs, faculties, and such congruity of their whole composition, and such curious and various motions, as we may observe in them, hath formed and set into motion this admirable automaton, and regulated and ordered it, with all these congruities we see in it." Then steps in an Aristotelian, and being dissatisfied with all the former solutions, tells them, "Gentlemen, you are all mistaken; your solutions are inexplicable and unsatisfactory; you have taken up certain precarious hypotheses; and being prepossessed with these creatures of your own fancies, and in love with them, right or wrong, you form all your conceptions of things according to those fancied and preconceived imaginations. The short of the business is, this *machina* is eternal, and so are all

the motions of it; and inasmuch as a circular motion hath no beginning or end, this motion that you see both in the wheels and index, and the successive indications of the celestial motions, is éternal, and without beginning. And this is a ready and expedite way of solving the phenomena, without so much ado as you have made about it."

' And whilst all the masters were thus contriving the solution of the phenomenon, in the hearing of the artist that made it; and when they had all spent their philosophizing upon it, the artist that made this engine, and all this while listened to their admirable fancies, tells them, " Gentlemen, you have discovered very much excellency of invention touching this piece of work that is before you; but you are all miserably mistaken; for it was I that made this watch, and brought it hither; and I will shew you how I made it. First, I wrought the spring, and the fusee, and the wheels, and the balance, and the case and table; I fitted them one to another, and placed these several axes that are to direct the motions, of the index to discover the hour of the day, of the figure that discovers the phases of the moon, and the other various motions that you see: and then I put it together, and wound up the spring, which hath given all these motions, that you see in this curious piece of work: and that you may be sure I tell you true, I will tell you the whole order and progress of my making, disposing, and ordering of this piece of work; the several materials of it; the manner of the forming of every individual part of it; and how long I was about it." This plain and evident discovery renders all these excogitated hypotheses of those philosophical enthusiasts vain and ridiculous, without any great help of rhetorical flourishes, or logical confutations. And much of the same nature is that disparity of the hypotheses of the learned philosophers, in relation to the origination of the world and man, after a greatdeal of dust raised, and fanciful explications and unintelligible hypotheses. The plain but divine narrative by the hand of Moses, full of sense, and congruity, and clearness, and reasonableness in itself, does at the same moment give

us a true and clear discovery of this great mystery, and renders all the essays of the generality of the heathen philosophers to be vain, inevident, and indeed inexplicable theories, the creatures of phantasy and imagination, and nothing else.'

As for his virtues, they have appeared so conspicuous in all the several transactions and turns of his life, that it may seem needless to add any more of them, than has been already related : but there are many particular instances, which I knew not how to fit to the several years of his life, which will give us a clearer and better view of him.

He was a devout Christian, a sincere Protestant, and a true son of the Church of England ; moderate towards Dissenters, and just even to those from whom he differed most ; which appeared signally in the care he took of preserving the Quakers from that mischief that was like to fall on them by declaring their marriages void, and so bastarding their children : but he considered marriage and succession as a right of nature, from which none ought to be barred, what mistake soever they might be under in the points of revealed religion.

And therefore, in a trial that was before him, when a Quaker was sued for some debts owing by his wife before he married her, and the Quaker's counsel pretended, ' That it was no marriage that had passed between them, since it was not solemnized according to the rules of the Church of England ;' he declared, that he was not willing on his own opinion to make their children bastards ; and gave directions to the jury to find it special. It was a reflection on the whole party, that one of them, to avoid an inconvenience he had fallen in, thought to have preserved himself by a defence, that, if it had been allowed in law, must have made their whole issue bastards, and incapable of succession. And for all their pretended friendship to one another, if this Judge had not been more their friend, than one of those they so called, their posterity had been little beholding to them. But he governed himself indeed by the law of the Gospel, of ' doing to others what he would have others do to him ;' and

therefore, because he would have thought it a hardship not without cruelty, if amongst Papists all marriages were nulled, which had not been made with all the ceremonies in the Roman Ritual; so he applying this to the case of the sectaries, he thought all marriages made according to the several persuasions of men, ought to have their effects in law.

He used constantly to worship God in his family, performing it always himself, if there was no clergyman present. But as to his private exercises in devotion, he took that extraordinary care to keep what he did secret, that this part of his character must be defective, except it be acknowledged, that his humility in covering it commends him much more than the highest expressions of devotion could have done.

From the first time that the impressions of religion settled deeply in his mind, he used great caution to conceal it; not only in obedience to the rules given by our Saviour, of *fasting, praying, and giving alms in secret*; but from a particular distrust he had of himself; for he said, he was afraid he should at some time or other do some enormous thing; which, if he were looked on as a very religious man, might cast a reproach on the profession of it, and give great advantages to impious men to blaspheme the name of God. 'But a tree is known by its fruits;' and he lived not only free of blemishes, or scandal, but shined in all the parts of his conversation. And perhaps the distrust he was in of himself contributed not a little to the purity of his life; for he being thereby obliged to be more watchful over himself, and to depend more on the aids of the Spirit of God, no wonder if that humble temper produced those excellent effects in him.

He had a soul enlarged and raised above that mean appetite of loving money, which is generally the root of all evil. He did not take the profits that he might have had by his practice; for in common cases, when those who came to ask his counsel gave him a piece, he used to give him back the half, and so made ten shillings his fee, in ordinary matters, that did not require much time or study. If he saw a cause was unjust, he for a great while would not meddle further in it, but to

give his advice that it was so. If the parties after that would go on, they were to seek another counsellor, for he would assist none in acts of injustice. If he found the cause doubtful, or weak in point of law, he always advised his clients to agree their business. Yet afterward he abated much of the scrupulosity he had about causes, that appeared at first view unjust, upon this occasion : There were two causes brought to him, which, by the ignorance of the party, or their attorney, were so ill represented to him, that they seemed to be very bad ; but he inquiring more narrowly into them, found they were really very good and just : so after this he slackened much of his former strictness of refusing to meddle in causes upon the ill circumstances that appeared in them at first.

In his pleading he abhorred those too common faults of misreciting evidences, quoting precedents or books falsely, or asserting things confidently; by which ignorant juries, or weak judges, are too often wrought on. He pleaded with the same sincerity that he used in the other parts of his life; and used to say, ' It was as great a dishonour as a man was capable of, that for a little money he was to be hired to say or do otherwise than as he thought.' All this he ascribed to the unmeasurable desire of heaping up wealth, which corrupted the souls of some, that seemed to be otherwise born and made for great things.

When he was a practitioner, differences were often referred to him, which he settled ; but would accept of no reward for his pains, though offered by both parties together, after the agreement was made ; for he said, ' In those cases he was made a Judge, and a Judge ought to take no money.' If they told him, ' He lost much of his time in considering their business, and so ought to be acknowledged for it ;' his answer was (as one that heard it told me), ' Can I spend my time better, than to make people friends ? Must I have no time allowed me to do good in ?'

He was naturally a quick man ; yet, by much practice on himself, he subdued that to such a degree, that he would never run suddenly into any conclusion concerning any matter of importance. *Festina lente* was

his beloved motto, which he ordered to be engraven on the head of his staff; and was often heard say, 'That he had observed many witty men run into great errors, because they did not give themselves time to think: but the heat of imagination making some notions appear in good colours to them, they, without staying till that cooled, were violently led by the impulses it made on them: whereas calm and slow men, who pass for dull in the common estimation, could search after truth, and find it out, as with more deliberation, so with greater certainty.'

He laid aside the tenth penny of all he got for the poor; and took great care to be well informed of proper objects for his charities. And after he was a Judge, many of the perquisites of his place, as his dividend of the Rule and Box money, were sent by him to the jails, to discharge poor prisoners, who never knew from whose hands their relief came. It is also a custom for the Marshal of the King's Bench to present the Judges of that Court with a piece of plate for a new-year's gift, that for the Chief Justice being larger than the rest. This he intended to have refused; but the other Judges told him, it belonged to his office, and the refusing it would be a prejudice to his successors; so he was persuaded to take it: but he sent word to the Marshal, 'That, instead of plate, he should bring him the value of it in money;' and when he received it, he immediately sent it to the prisons, for the relief and discharge of the poor there. He usually invited his poor neighbours to dine with him, and made them sit at table with himself: and if any of them were sick, so that they could not come, he would send meat warm to them from his table. And he did not only relieve the poor in his own parish, but sent supplies to the neighbouring parishes, as there was occasion for it; and he treated them all with the tenderness and familiarity that became one, who considered they were of the same nature with himself, and were reduced to no other necessities, but such as he himself might be brought to. But for common beggars, if any of these came to him, as he was in his walks, when he lived in the country, he would ask such as were capable of working, 'Why

they went about so idly?' If they answered, 'It was because they could find no work,' he often sent them to some field, to gather all the stones in it, and lay them on a heap; and then would pay them liberally for their pains. This being done, he used to send his carts, and caused them to be carried to such places of the high-way as needed mending.

But when he was in town, he dealt his charities very liberally, even among the street-beggars; and when some told him, 'That he thereby encouraged idleness, and that most of these were notorious cheats,' he used to answer, 'That he believed most of them were such; but among them there were some that were great objects of charity, and pressed with grievous necessities; and that he had rather give his alms to twenty who might be perhaps rogues, than that one of the other sort should perish for want of that small relief which he gave them.'

He loved building much, which he affected chiefly, because it employed many poor people: but one thing was observed in all his buildings, that the changes he made in his houses were always from magnificence to usefulness; for he avoided every thing that looked like pomp or vanity, even in the walls of his houses. He had good judgment in architecture, and an excellent faculty in contriving well.

He was a gentle landlord to all his tenants, and was ever ready, upon any reasonable complaints, to make abatements; for he was merciful as well as righteous. One instance of this was of a widow, that lived in London, and had a small estate near his house in the country; from which her rents were ill returned to her, and at a cost, which she could not well bear: so she bemoaned herself to him; and he, according to his readiness to assist all poor people, told her, 'He would order his steward to take up her rents, and the returning them should cost her nothing.' But after that, when there was a falling of rents in that country, so that it was necessary to make abatements to the tenant; yet he would have it to lie on himself, and made the widow be paid her rent as formerly.

Another remarkable instance of his justice and good-

ness was, that when he found ill money had been put into his hands, he would never suffer it to be vented again; for he thought it was no excuse for him to put false money in other people's hands, because some had put it in his. A great heap of this he had gathered together; for many had so far abused his goodness, as to mix base money among the fees that were given him. It is like he intended to have destroyed it; but some thieves, who had observed it, broke into his chamber, and stole it, thinking they had got a prize; which he used to tell with some pleasure, imagining how they found themselves deceived, when they perceived what sort of booty they had fallen on.

After he was made a Judge, he would needs pay more for every purchase he made than it was worth. If it had been but a horse he was to buy, he would have outbid the price: and when some represented to him, 'that he made ill bargains,' he said, 'It became Judges to pay more for what they bought, than the true value; that so those with whom they dealt might not think they had any right to their favour, by having sold such things to them at an easy rate;' and said it was suitable to the reputation, which a Judge ought to preserve, to make such bargains, that the world might see they were not too well used upon some secret account.

In sum, his estate did shew how little he had minded the raising a great fortune; for from a hundred pound a year he raised it not quite to nine hundred; and of this a very considerable part came in by his share of Mr. Selden's estate: yet this, considering his great practice while a counsellor, and his constant, frugal, and modest way of living, was but a small fortune. In the share that fell to him by Mr. Selden's will, one memorable thing was done by him, with the other executors, by which they both shewed their regard to their dead friend, and their love of the public. His library was valued at some thousands of pounds, and was believed to be one of the curiousest collections in Europe; so they resolved to keep this entire, for the honour of Selden's memory, and gave it to the University of Oxford; where a noble room was added to the former

Library for its reception, and all due respects have been since shewed by that great and learned body, to those their worthy benefactors, who not only parted so generously with this great treasure, but were a little put to it how to oblige them, without crossing the will of their dead friend. Mr. Selden had once intended to give his library to that University, and had left it so by his will ; but having occasion for a manuscript which belonged to their Library, they asked of him a bond of a thousand pound for its restitution : this he took so ill at their hands, that he struck out that part of his will, by which he had given them his library, and with some passion declared, ‘ They should never have it.’ The executors stuck at this a little ; but having considered better of it, came to this resolution ; that they were to be the executors of Mr. Selden’s will, and not of his passion ; so they made good what he had intended in cold blood, and passed over what his passion had suggested to him.

The parting with so many excellent books would have been as uneasy to our Judge, as any thing of that nature could be, if a pious regard to his friend’s memory had not prevailed over him ; for he valued books and manuscripts above all things in the world. He himself had made a great and rare collection of manuscripts belonging to the Law of England ; he was forty years in gathering it : he himself said, ‘ it cost him about fifteen hundred pounds,’ and calls it in his will, ‘ a treasure worth having and keeping, and not fit for every man’s view.’ These all he left to Lincoln’s Inn ; and for the information of those who are curious to search into such things, there shall be a catalogue of them added at the end of this book.

By all these instances it does appear how much he was raised above the world, or the love of it. But having thus mastered things without him, his next study was to overcome his own inclinations. He was, as he said himself, naturally passionate ; I add, as he said himself, for that appeared by no other evidence, save that sometimes his colour would rise a little ; but he so governed himself, that those who lived long about him have told me, they never saw him dis-

ordered with anger, though he met with some trials, that the nature of man is as little able to bear, as any whatsoever. There was one who did him a great injury, which it is not necessary to mention, who coming afterward to him for his advice in the settlement of his estate, he gave it very frankly to him, but would accept of no fee for it; and thereby shewed both that he could forgive as a Christian, and that he had the soul of a gentleman in him, not to take money of one that had wronged him so heinously. And when he was asked by one, 'How he could use a man so kindly, that had wronged him so much?' his answer was, 'He thanked God he had learned to forget injuries.' And besides the great temper he expressed in all his public employments, in his family he was a very gentle master: he was tender of all his servants; he never turned any away, except they were so faulty, that there was no hope of reclaiming them. When any of them had been long out of the way, or had neglected any part of their duty, he would not see them at their first coming home, and sometimes not till the next day; lest, when his displeasure was quick upon him, he might have chid them indecently: and when he did reprove them, he did it with that sweetness and gravity, that it appeared he was more concerned for their having done a fault, than for the offence given by it to himself. But if they became immoral or unruly, then he turned them away; for he said, 'He, that by his place ought to punish disorders in other people, must by no means suffer them in his own house.' He advanced his servants according to the time they had been about him; and would never give occasion to envy amongst them, by raising the younger clerks above those who had been longer with him. He treated them all with great affection, rather as a friend than a master, giving them often good advice and instruction. He made those who had good places under him give some of their profits to the other servants, who had nothing but their wages. When he made his will, he left legacies to every one of them; but he expressed a more particular kindness for one of them, Robert Gibbon, of the Middle Temple, Esq. in whom he had that confidence, that he

left him one of his executors. I the rather mention him, because of his noble gratitude to his worthy benefactor and master; for he has been so careful to preserve his memory, that as he set those on me, at whose desire I undertook to write his life; so he has procured for me a great part of those memorials and informations, out of which I have composed it.

The Judge was of a most tender and compassionate nature; this did eminently appear in his trying and giving sentence upon criminals, in which he was strictly careful, that not a circumstance should be neglected, which might any way clear the fact. He behaved himself with that regard to the prisoners, which became both the gravity of a judge, and the pity that was due to men, whose lives lay at stake, so that nothing of jeering or unreasonable severity ever fell from him. He also examined the witnesses in the softest manner, taking care that they should be put under no confusion, which might disorder their memory: and he summed all the evidence so equally, when he charged the jury, that the criminals themselves never complained of him. When it came to him to give sentence, he did it with that composedness and decency, and his speeches to the prisoners, directing them to prepare for death, were so weighty, so free of all affectation, and so serious and devout, that many loved to go to the trials, when he sat judge, to be edified by his speeches and behaviour in them; and used to say, they heard very few such sermons.

But though the pronouncing the sentence of death was the piece of his employment that went most against the grain with him; yet in that he could never be mollified to any tenderness, which hindered justice. When he was once pressed to recommend some, whom he had condemned, to his Majesty's mercy and pardon, he answered, 'He could not think they deserved a pardon, whom he himself had adjudged to die:' so that all he would do in that kind was to give the King a true account of the circumstances of the fact: after which his Majesty was to consider whether he would interpose his mercy, or let justice take place.

His mercifulness extended even to his beasts; for

when the horses that he had kept long grew old, he would not suffer them to be sold, or much wrought; but ordered his men to turn them loose on his grounds, and put them only to easy work, such as going to market, and the like: he used old dogs also with the same care: his shepherd having one that was become blind with age, he intended to have killed or lost him; but the Judge coming to hear of it, made one of his servants bring him home, and fed him till he died. And he was scarce ever seen more angry than with one of his servants, for neglecting a bird that he kept, so that it died for want of food.

He was a great encourager of all young persons, that he saw followed their books diligently, to whom he used to give directions concerning the method of their study, with a humanity and sweetness, that wrought much on all that came near him; and in a smiling pleasant way he would admonish them, if he saw any thing amiss in them; particularly if they went too fine in their clothes, he would tell them, 'It did not become their profession.' He was not pleased to see students wear long periwigs, or attornies go with swords; so that such young men as would not be persuaded to part with those vanities, when they went to him laid them aside, and went as plain as they could, to avoid the reproof, which they knew they might otherwise expect.

He was very free and communicative in his discourse, which he most commonly fixed on some good and useful subject; and loved for an hour or two at night to be visited by some of his friends. He neither said nor did any thing with affectation; but used a simplicity, that was both natural to himself, and very easy to others: and though he never studied the modes of civility, or court-breeding, yet he knew not what it was to be rude or harsh with any, except he were impertinently addressed to in matters of justice: then he would raise his voice a little, and so shake off those importunities.

In his furniture, and the service of his table, and way of living, he liked the old plainness so well, that as he would set up none of the new fashions, so he ra-

ther affected a coarseness in the use of the old ones; which was more the effect of his philosophy than disposition, for he loved fine things too much at first. He was always of an equal temper, rather cheerful than merry. Many wondered to see the evenness of his deportment, in some very sad passages of his life.

Having lost one of his sons, the manner of whose death had some grievous circumstances in it; one coming to see him, and condole, he said to him, 'Those were the effects of living long; such must look to see many sad and unacceptable things;' and having said that, he went to other discourses with his ordinary freedom of mind: for though he had a temper so tender, that sad things were apt enough to make deep impressions upon him; yet the regard he had to the wisdom and providence of God, and the just estimate he made of external things, did to admiration maintain the tranquillity of his mind; and he gave no occasion by idleness to melancholy to corrupt his spirit; but by the perpetual bent of his thoughts he knew well how to divert them from being oppressed with the excesses of sorrow.

He had a generous and noble idea of God in his mind; and this he found did above all other considerations preserve his quiet; and indeed that was so well established in him, that no accidents, how sudden soever, were observed to discompose him: of which an eminent man of that profession gave me this instance. In the year 1666 an opinion did run through the nation, 'That the end of the world would come that year.' This, whether set on by astrologers, or advanced by those who thought it might have some relation to the number of the Beast in the Revelation, or promoted by men of ill designs, to disturb the public peace, had spread mightily among the people: and Judge Hale going that year the Western circuit, it happened, that as he was on the Bench at the assizes, a most terrible storm fell out very unexpectedly, accompanied with such flashes of lightning, and claps of thunder, that the like will hardly fall out in an age. Upon which a whisper or a rumour run through the crowd, 'That now was the world to end, and the day of judgment

to begin ;' and at this there followed a general consternation in the whole assembly, and all men forgot the business they were met about, and betook themselves to their prayers. This, added to the horror raised by the storm, looked very dismally; insomuch that my author, a man of no ordinary resolution and firmness of mind, confessed, ' It made a great impression on himself.' But he told me, ' That he did observe the Judge was not a whit affected, and was going on with the business of the court in his ordinary manner:' from which he made this conclusion; ' That his thoughts were so well fixed, that he believed, if the world had been really to end, it would have given him no considerable disturbance.'

But I shall now conclude all that I shall say concerning him, with what one of the greatest men of the profession of the law sent me as an abstract of the character he had made of him, upon long observation, and much converse with him. It was sent me, that from thence, with the other materials, I might make such a representation of him to the world as he indeed deserved: but I resolved not to shred it out in parcels, but to set it down entirely as it was sent me; hoping, that as the reader will be much delighted with it, so the noble person that sent it will not be offended with me for keeping it entire, and setting it in the best light I could. It begins abruptly, being designed to supply the defects of others, from whom I had earlier and more copious informations.

' He would never be brought to discourse of public matters in private conversation; but in questions of law, when any young lawyer put a case to him, he was very communicative, especially while he was at the Bar: but when he came to the Bench, he grew more reserved, and would never suffer his opinion in any case to be known, till he was obliged to declare it judicially; and he concealed his opinion in great cases so carefully, that the rest of the Judges in the same court could never perceive it. His reason was, " Because every Judge ought to give sentence according to his own persuasion and conscience, and not to be swayed by any respect or deference to another man's opinion."

And by this means it hath happened sometimes, that when all the Barons of the Exchequer had delivered their opinions, and agreed in their reasons and arguments; yet he coming to speak last, and differing in judgment from them, hath expressed himself with so much weight and solidity, that the Barons have immediately retracted their votes, and concurred with him. He hath sat as a Judge in all the courts of law, and in two of them as chief; but still, wherever he sat, all business of consequence followed him; and no man was content to sit down by the judgment of any other court, till the case was brought before him, to see whether he were of the same mind: and his opinion being once known, men did readily acquiesce in it; and it was very rarely seen, that any man attempted to bring it about again; and he that did so, did it upon great disadvantages, and was always looked upon as a very contentious person: so that what Cicero says of Brutus did very often happen to him, "*Etiam quos contra statuit æquos placatosque dimisit.*"

‘Nor did men reverence his judgment and opinion in courts of law only; but his authority was as great in courts of equity, and the same respect and submission was paid to him there too: and this appeared not only in his own court of equity in the Exchequer Chamber, but in the Chancery too; for thither he was often called to advise and assist the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper for the time being: and if the cause were of difficult examination, or intricated and entangled with variety of settlements, no man ever shewed a more clear and discerning judgment: if it were of great value, and great persons interested in it, no man ever shewed greater courage and integrity in laying aside all respect of persons. When he came to deliver his opinion, he always put his discourse into such a method, that one part of it gave light to the other; and where the proceedings of Chancery might prove inconvenient to the subject, he never spared to observe and reprove them: and from his observations and discourses, the Chancery hath taken occasion to establish many of those rules, by which it governs itself at this day.

He did look upon equity as a part of the common law, and one of the grounds of it; and therefore, as near as he could, he did always reduce it to certain rules and principles, that men might study it as a science, and not think the administration of it had any thing arbitrary in it. Thus eminent was this man in every station; and into what court soever he was called, he quickly made it appear, that he deserved the chief seat there.

‘As great a lawyer as he was, he would never suffer the strictness of law to prevail against conscience: as great a chancellor as he was, he would make use of all the niceties and subtilties in law, when it tended to support right and equity. But nothing was more admirable in him than his patience. He did not affect the reputation of quickness and dispatch, by a hasty and captious hearing of the counsel: he would bear with the meanest, and gave every man his full scope, thinking it much better to lose time than patience. In summing up of an evidence to a jury, he would always require the Bar to interrupt him, if he did mistake, and to put him in mind of it, if he did forget the least circumstance. Some judges have been disturbed at this, as a rudeness, which he always looked upon as a service and respect done to him.

‘His whole life was nothing else but a continual course of labour and industry; and when he could borrow any time from the public service, it was wholly employed either in philosophical or divine meditations; and even that was a public service too, as it hath proved; for they have occasioned his writing of such treatises, as are become the choicest entertainment of wise and good men; and the world hath reason to wish that more of them were printed. He that considers the active part of his life, and with what unwearied diligence and application of mind he dispatched all men’s business, which came under his care, will wonder how he could find any time for contemplation. He that considers again the various studies he passed through, and the many collections and observations he hath made, may as justly wonder how he could find any time for action. But no man can wonder at the

exemplary piety and innocence of such a life so spent as this was ; wherein as he was careful to avoid every idle word, so it is manifest he never spent an idle day. They who came far short of this great man will be apt enough to think, that this is a panegyric, which indeed is a history, and but a little part of that history, which was with great truth to be related of him. Men who despair of attaining such perfection are not willing to believe that any man else did ever arrive at such a height.

‘ He was the greatest lawyer of the age, and might have had what practice he pleased : but though he did most conscientiously affect the labours of his profession, yet at the same time he despised the gain of it ; and of those profits, which he would allow himself to receive, he always set apart a tenth penny for the poor, which he ever dispensed with that secrecy, that they who were relieved seldom or never knew their benefactor. He took more pains to avoid the honours and preferments of the Gown, than others do to compass them. His modesty was beyond all example ; for where some men, who never attained to half his knowledge, have been puffed up with a high conceit of themselves, and have affected all occasions of raising their own esteem by depreciating other men ; he, on the contrary, was the most obliging man that ever practised. If a young gentleman happened to be retained to argue a point in law, where he was on the contrary side, he would very often mend the objections, when he came to repeat them, and always commend the gentleman, if there were room for it ; and one good word of his was of more advantage to a young man, than all the favour of the court could be.’

Having thus far pursued his history and character in the public and exemplary parts of his life, without interrupting the thread of the relation with what was private and domestic, I shall conclude with a short account of these.

He was twice married : his first wife was Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Moore, of Faly in Berkshire, grand-child to Sir Francis Moore, Serjeant at Law : by her he had ten children ; the four first died young,

the other six lived to be all married; and he outlived them all, except his eldest daughter and his youngest son, who are yet alive.

His eldest son, Robert, married Frances the daughter of Sir Francis Chock, of Avington in Berkshire; and they both dying in a little time one after another, left five children; two sons, Matthew and Gabriel; and three daughters, Anne, Mary, and Frances: and by the Judge's advice they both made him their executor; so he took his grand-children into his own care, and among them he left his estate.

His second son, Matthew, married Anne the daughter of Mr. Matthew Simmonds, of Hilsley in Gloucestershire, who died soon after, and left one son behind him, named Matthew.

His third son, Thomas, married Rebekah the daughter of Christian Le Brune, a Dutch merchant, and died without issue.

His fourth son, Edward, married Mary the daughter of Edmund Goodyere, Esq. of Heythorp in Oxfordshire, and still lives; he has two sons and three daughters.

His eldest daughter, Mary, was married to Edward Alderly of Innishannon, in the county of Cork, in Ireland; who dying left her with two sons and three daughters: she is since married to Edward Stephens, son to Edward Stephens, Esq. of Cherington in Gloucestershire. His youngest daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Edward Webb, Esq., Barrister at Law; she died, leaving two children, a son and a daughter.

His second wife was Anne the daughter of Mr. Joseph Bishop, of Faly in Berkshire, by whom he had no children. He gives her a great character in his will, as a most dutiful, faithful, and loving wife, and therefore trusted the breeding of his grand-children to her care, and left her one of his executors; to whom he joined Sir Robert Jenkinson and Mr. Gibbon. So much may suffice of those descended from him.

In after-times, it is not to be doubted, but it will be reckoned no small honour to derive from him: and this has made me more particular in reckoning up his issue. I shall next give an account of the issues of his

mind, his books, that are either printed, or remain in manuscript: for the last of these, by his will he has forbid the printing of any of them after his death, except such as he should give order for in his life: but he seems to have changed his mind afterward, and to have left it to the discretion of his executors, which of them might be printed: for though he does not express that, yet he ordered by a codicil, 'That if any book of his writing, as well touching the common law, as other subjects, should be printed; then what should be given for the consideration of the copy, should be divided into ten shares, of which he appointed seven to go among his servants, and three to those who had copied them out, and were to look after the impression.' The reason, as I have understood it, that made him so unwilling to have any of his works printed after his death was, 'That he apprehended in the licensing them (which was necessary before any book could be lawfully printed, by a law then in force, but since his death determined) some things might have been struck out, or altered;' which he had observed, not without some indignation, had been done to a part of the Reports of one whom he had much esteemed.

'This in matters of law,' he said, 'might prove to be of such mischievous consequence, that he thereupon resolved none of his writings should be at the mercy of licensers:' and therefore, because he was not sure that they should be published without expurgations or interpolations, he forbid the printing any of them; in which he afterward made some alteration; at least he gave occasion by his codicil to infer that he altered his mind.

This I have the more fully explained, that his last will may be no way misunderstood, and that his worthy executors, and his hopeful grand-children, may not conclude themselves to be under an indispensable obligation of depriving the public of his excellent writings.

A Catalogue of all his Books that are printed.

1. The Primitive Origination of Mankind, considered and examined according to the Light of Nature. fol.
2. Contemplations Moral and Divine, Part I. 8vo

3. Contemplations Moral and Divine, Part II. 8vo.
4. *Difficiles Nugæ*, or Observations touching the Torricellian Experiment, and the various Solutions of the same, especially touching the Weight and Elasticity of the Air. 8vo.
5. An Essay touching the Gravitation or Non-Gravitation of fluid Bodies, and the Reasons thereof. 8vo.
6. Observations touching the Principles of Natural Motions, and especially touching Rarefaction and Condensation; together with a Reply to certain Remarks, touching the Gravitation of Fluids. 8vo.
7. The Life and Death of Pomponius Atticus, written by his Contemporary and Acquaintance Cornelius Nepos, translated out of his Fragments; together with Observations Political and Moral thereupon. 8vo.
8. Pleas of the Crown, or a Methodical Summary of the Principal Matters relating to that Subject. 8vo.

Manuscripts of his not yet published.

1. Concerning the Secondary Origination of Mankind. fol.
2. Concerning Religion, 5 vol. in fol. viz.
 1. De Deo, Vox Metaphysica, Pars I. et II.
 2. Pars III. Vox Naturæ, Providentiæ, Ethicæ, Conscientiæ.
 3. Liber sextus, septimus, octavus.
 4. Pars IX. Concerning the Holy Scriptures, their Evidence and Authority.
 5. Concerning the Truth of the Holy Scripture, and the Evidences thereof.
3. Of Policy in Matters of Religion. fol.
4. *De Anima*, to Mr. B. fol.
5. *De Anima*, Transactions between him and Mr. B. fol.
6. Tentamina, De Ortu, Natura, et Immortalitate Animæ. fol.
7. Magnetismus Magneticus. fol.
8. Magnetismus Physicus. fol.
9. Magnetismus Divinus.
10. De Generatione Animalium et Vegetabilium. fol. Lat.
11. Of the Law of Nature. fol.
12. A Letter of Advice to his Grand-children. 4to.
13. Placita Coronæ, 7 vol. fol.

14. Preparatory Notes concerning the Right of the Crown. fol.
15. Incepta de Juribus Coronæ. fol.
16. De Prærogativa Regis. fol.
17. Preparatory Notes touching Parliamentary Proceedings, 2 vol. 4to.
18. Of the Jurisdiction of the House of Lords. 4to.
19. Of the Jurisdiction of the Admiralty.
20. Touching Ports and Customs. fol.
21. Of the Right of the Sea, and the Arms thereof, and Customs. fol.
22. Concerning the Advancement of Trade. 4to.
23. Of Sheriffs' Accounts. fol.
24. Copies of Evidences. fol.
25. Mr. Selden's Discourses. 8vo.
26. Excerpta ex Schedis Seldenianis.
27. Journal of the 18 and 21 Jacobi Regis. 4to.
28. Great Common-Place Book of Reports, or Cases in the Law, in Law French. fol.

In Bundles.

- On *Quod tibi fieri*, &c. Matth. vii. 12.
 Touching Punishments, in relation to the Socinian Controversy.
 Policies of the Church of Rome.
 Concerning the Laws of England.
 Of the Amendment of the Laws of England.
 Touching Provision for the Poor.
 Upon Mr. Hobbes's Manuscript.
 Concerning the Time of the Abolition of the Jewish Laws.

In Quarto.

- Quod sit Deus.
 Of the State and Condition of the Soul and Body after Death.
 Notes concerning Matters of Law.

To these I shall add the Catalogue of the Manuscripts, which he left to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, with that part of his Will that concerns them.

Item, 'As a testimony of my honour and respect to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, where I had the greatest part of my education, I give and bequeath to that

Honourable Society the several manuscript books contained in a schedule annexed to my will. They are a treasure worth having and keeping, which I have been near forty years in gathering, with very great industry and expense. My desire is, that they be kept safe, and all together, in remembrance of me. They were fit to be bound in leather, and chained, and kept in archives. I desire they may not be lent out or disposed of: only if I happen hereafter to have any of my posterity of that Society, that desires to transcribe any book, and give very good caution to restore it again in a prefixed time, such as the Benchers of that Society in council shall approve of; then, and not otherwise, only one book at one time may be lent out to them by the Society; so that there be no more but one book of those books abroad out of the library at one time. They are a treasure, that are not fit for every man's view; nor is every man capable of making use of them: only I would have nothing of these books printed, but entirely preserved together, for the use of the industrious learned members of that Society.'

A Catalogue of the Books given by him to the Lincoln's Inn, according to the Schedule annexed to his Will.

Placita de Tempore Regis Johannis, 1 vol. stitched.

Placita coram Rege Ed. I. 2 vol.

Placita coram Rege Ed. II. 1 vol.

Placita coram Rege Ed. III. 3 vol.

Placita coram Rege Ric. II. 1 vol.

Placita coram Rege Hen. IV. Hen. V. 1 vol.

Placita de Banco, Ed. I. ab anno 1. ad annum 21. 1 vol.

Transcripts of many Pleas, coram Rege et de Banco, Ed. I. 1 vol.

The Pleas in the Exchequer, styled *Communia*, from 1 Ed. III. to 46 Ed. III. 5 vol.

Close Rolls of King John, verbatim, of the most material Things, 1 vol.

The principal Matters in the Close and Patent Rolls of Hen. III. transcribed verbatim, from 9 Hen. III. to 56 Hen. III. 5 vol. Vellum, marked K. L.

The principal Matters in the Close and Patent Rolls, Ed. I. with several Copies and Abstracts of Records, 1 vol. marked F.

A long Book of Abstracts of Records, by me.

Close and Patent Rolls, from 1 to 10 Ed. III. and other Records of the time of Hen. III. 1 vol. marked W.

Close Rolls of 15 Ed. III. with other Records, 1 vol. marked N.

Close Rolls from 17 to 38 Ed. III. 2 vol.

Close and Patent Rolls from 40 Ed. III. to 50 Ed. III. 1 vol. marked B.

Close Rolls of Ed. II. with other Records, 1 vol. R.

Close and Patent Rolls, and Charter Rolls in the time of King John, for the Clergy, 1 vol.

A great volume of Records of several Natures, G.

The Leagues of the Kings of England, tempore Ed. I. Ed. II. Ed. III. 1 vol.

A Book of ancient Leagues and Military Provisions, 1 vol.

The Reports of Iters, of Derby, Nottingham, and Bedford, transcribed, 1 vol.

Itinera Forest de Pickering et Lancaster, transcript. ex Originali, 1 vol.

An ancient Reading, very large upon Charta de Foresta, and of the Forest Laws.

The Transcript of the Iter Foresta de Dean, 1 vol.

Quo Warranto, and Liberties of the County of Gloucester, with the Pleas of the Chace of Kingswood, 1 vol.

Transcript of the Black Book of the Admiralty, Laws of the Army, Impositions, and several Honours, 1 vol.

Records of Patents, Inquisitions, &c. of the County of Leicester, 1 vol.

Muster and Military Provisions of all sorts, extracted from the Records, 1 vol.

Gervasius Tilburiensis, or the Black Book of the Exchequer, 1 vol.

The King's Title to the Pre-emption of Tin, a thin vol.

Calendar of the Records in the Tower, a small vol.

A Miscellany of divers Records, Orders, and other Things of various Natures, marked E. 1 vol.

Another of the like Nature, in leather cover, 1 vol.

A Book of divers Records and Things relating to the Chancery, 1 vol.

Titles of Honour and Pedigrees, especially touching Clifford, 1 vol.

History of the Marches of Wales, collected by me, 1 vol.

Certain Collections touching Titles of Honour, 1 vol.

Copies of several Records touching Præmunire, 1 vol.

Extract of Commissions tempore Hen. VII. Hen. VIII. R. and the Proceedings in the Court-Military, between Ray and Ramsey, 1 vol.

Petitions in Parliament tempore Ed. I. Ed. II. Ed. III. Hen. IV. 3 vol.

Summons of Parliament, from 49 Hen. III. to 22 Ed. IV. in 3 vol.

The Parliament Rolls from the beginning of Ed. I. to the end of Rich. III. in 19 vol. viz. one of Ed. I. one of Ed. II. with the Ordinations; two of Ed. III. three of Rich. II. two of Hen. IV. two of Hen. V. four of Hen. VI. three of Ed. IV. one of Rich. III. all transcribed at large.

Mr. Elsing's Book touching Proceedings in Parliament, 1 vol.

Noy's Collection touching the King's Supplies, 1 vol. stitched.

A Book of various Collections out of Records and Register of Canterbury, and Claymes at the Coronation of Rich. II. 1 vol.

Transcript of Bishop Usher's Notes, principally concerning Chronology, three large vol.

A Transcript out of Doomsday-Book of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, and of some Pipe-Rolls, and old Accompts of the Customs, 1 vol.

Extracts and Collections out of Records touching Titles of Honour, 1 vol.

Extracts of Pleas, Patents, and Close-Rolls, tempore Hen. III. Ed. I. Ed. II. Ed. III. and some old Antiquities of England, 1 vol.

Collections and Memorials of many Records and Antiquities, 1 vol. Seldeni.

Calendar of Charters and Records in the Tower, touching Gloucestershire.

Collection of Notes and Records of various Natures, marked M. 1 vol. Seldeni.

Transcript of the Iters of London, Kent, Cornwall, 1 vol.

Extracts out of the Leiger-Books of Battell, Eversham, Winton, &c. 1 vol. Seldeni.

Copies of the principal Records in the Red Book in the Exchequer, 1 vol.

Extracts of Records and Treaties relating to Sea-affairs, 1 vol.

Records touching Customs, Ports, Partition of the Lands of Gil. de Clare, &c.

Extract of Pleas in the time of Rich. I. King John, Ed. I. &c. 1 vol.

Cartæ Antiquæ in the Tower, transcribed, in 2 vol.

Chronological Remembrances, extracted out of the Notes of Bishop Usher, 1 vol. stitched.

Inquisitiones de Legibus Walliæ, 1 vol.

Collections, or Records, touching Knighthood.

Titles of Honour. Seldeni. 1 vol.

Mathematics and Fortifications, 1 vol.

Processus Curiae Militaris, 1 vol.

A Book of Honour, stitched, 1 vol.

Extracts out of the Registry of Canterbury.

Copies of several Records touching Proceedings in the Military Court, 1 vol.

Abstracts of Summons and Rolls of Parliament, out of the Book of Dunelm, and some Records alphabetically digested, 1 vol.

Abstracts of divers Records in the Office of First Fruits, 1 vol. stitched.

Mathematical and Astrological Calculations, 1 vol.

A Book of Divinity.

Two large Repositories of Records, marked A. and B.

[*All those above are in folio.*]

The Proceedings of the Forests of Windsor, Dean, and Essex, in 4to. 1 vol.

[*Those that follow are most of them in Vellum or Parchment.*]

Two Books of old Statutes, one ending Hen. VII. the other, 2 Hen. V. with the Sums, 2 vol.

Five last Years Ed. II. 1 vol.

Reports tempore Ed. II. 1 vol.

The Year-Book of Rich. II. and some others, 1 vol.

An old Chronicle, from the Creation to Ed. III. 1 vol.

A Mathematical Book, especially of Optics, 1 vol.

A Dutch Book of Geometry and Fortification.

Murti Benevenlani Geometrica, 1 vol.

Reports tempore Ed. I. under Titles, 1 vol.

An old Register, and some Pleas, 1 vol.

Bernardi Bratrack Peregrinatio, 1 vol.

Iter Cantii and London, and some Reports tempore Ed. II. 1 vol.

Reports tempore Ed. I. and Ed. II. 1 vol.

Leiger-Book, Abbatiae de Bello.

Isidori Opera.

Liber Altercationis, et Christianae Philosophiae, contra Paganos.

Historia Petri Manducatorii.

Hornii Astronomica.

Historia Ecclesiae Dunelmensis.

Holandi Chymica.

De Alchymiae Scriptoribus.

The Black Book of the New Law, collected by me, and digested into Alphabetical Titles, written with my own hand, which is the original Copy.

MATTHEW HALE.

THE CONCLUSION.

Thus lived and died Sir Matthew Hale, the renowned Lord Chief Justice of England. He had one of the blessings of virtue in the highest measure of any of the age, that does not always follow it; which was, that he was universally much valued and admired by men of all sides and persuasions: for as none could hate him, but for his justice and virtues; so the great estimation he was generally in made that few durst undertake to defend so ingrateful a paradox, as any thing said to lessen him would have appeared to be. His name is scarce ever mentioned since his death without particular accents of singular respect. His opinion in points of law generally passes as an uncontrollable authority, and is often pleaded in all the courts of justice: and all that knew him well do still speak of him as one of the perfectest patterns of religion and virtue they ever saw.

The commendations given him by all sorts of people are such, that I can hardly come under the censures of this age, for any thing I have said concerning him: yet if this book lives to after-times, it will be looked on

perhaps as a picture drawn more according to fancy and invention, than after the life ; if it were not that those who knew him well, establishing its credit in the present age, will make it pass down to the next with a clearer authority.

I shall pursue his praise no further in my own words, but shall add what the present Lord Chancellor of England said concerning him, when he delivered the commission to the Lord Chief Justice Rainsford, who succeeded him in that office ; which he began in this manner :

‘ The vacancy of the seat of the Chief Justice of this Court, and that by a way and means so unusual, as the resignation of him that lately held it ; and this too proceeding from so deplorable a cause, as the infirmity of that body, which began to forsake the ablest mind that ever presided here ; hath filled the kingdom with lamentations, and given the King many and pensive thoughts, how to supply that vacancy again.’ And a little after, speaking to his successor, he said, ‘ The very labours of the place, and that weight and fatigue of business which attends it, are no small discouragements ; for what shoulders may not justly fear that burthen, which made him stoop that went before you ? Yet, I confess, you have a greater discouragement than the mere burthen of your place ; and that is, the inimitable example of your last predecessor. “ *Onerosum est succedere bono principi,*” was the saying of him in the Panegyric : and you will find it so too, that are to succeed such a Chief Justice, of so indefatigable an industry, so invincible a patience, so exemplary an integrity, and so magnanimous a contempt of wordly things, without which no man can be truly great : and to all this a man that was so absolute a master of the science of the law, and even of the most abstruse and hidden parts of it, that one may truly say of his knowledge in the law, what St. Austin said of St. Hierom’s knowledge in divinity : “ *Quod Hieronymus nescivit, nullus mortalium unquam scivit.*” And therefore the King would not suffer himself to part with so great a man, till he had placed upon him all the marks of bounty and esteem, which his retired and weak condition was capable of.’

To this high character, in which the expressions, as

- they well become the eloquence of him who pronounced them, so they do agree exactly to the subject, without the abatements that are often to be made for rhetoric, I shall add that part of the Lord Chief Justice's answer, in which he speaks of his predecessor.

‘ — A person, in whom his eminent virtues, and deep learning, have long managed a contest for the superiority, which is not decided to this day; nor will it ever be determined, I suppose, which shall get the upper hand: a person that has sat in this Court these many years, of whose actions there I have been an eye and ear witness, that by the greatness of his learning always charmed his auditors to reverence and attention: a person of whom I think I may boldly say, that as former times cannot shew any superior to him, so I am confident succeeding and future time will never shew any equal. These considerations, heightened by what I have heard from your Lordship concerning him, made me anxious and doubtful, and put me to a stand, how I should succeed so able, so good, and so great a man. It doth very much trouble me, that I, who in comparison of him am but like a candle lighted in the sunshine, or like a glow-worm at mid-day, should succeed so great a person, that is and will be so eminently famous to all posterity. And I must ever wear this motto in my breast, to comfort me, and in my actions to excuse me:

‘ Sequitur, quamvis non passibus æquis.’

Thus were panegyrics made upon him while yet alive, in that same Court of Justice, which he had so worthily governed. As he was honoured while he lived, so he was much lamented when he died: and this will still be acknowledged as a just inscription for his memory, though his modesty forbid any such to be put on his tomb-stone:

THAT HE WAS ONE OF THE GREATEST PATTERNS THIS AGE HAS AFFORDED, WHETHER IN HIS PRIVATE DEPARTMENT AS A CHRISTIAN, OR IN HIS PUBLIC EMPLOYMENTS, EITHER AT THE BAR OR ON THE BENCH.

THE LIFE
OF
WILLIAM BEDELL, D.D.
BISHOP OF KILMORE IN IRELAND.

PREFACE.

THE contests that have been raised in this age concerning the lawfulness and the usefulness of the Episcopal government, have engaged so many learned men to treat that argument so fully, that as there is very little excuse left for the ignorance or obstinacy of those who still stand out against the evidence of a cause made out so clearly, so there is scarce any thing left to be said by any, whose zeal may set him on to handle a matter that seems to be now exhausted. There is one sort of arguments yet remaining, that as they are more within every one's compass to apprehend and apply, so they have a greater force on men's affections, which commonly give a bias to their understandings. For conviction has an easy access to us when we are already inclined to wish that were true, concerning which we employ our inquiries: and in practical matters, such as government, arguments etched from great patterns do not only prepare us to think well of such forms, but really give us truer and juster ideas of them than speculative discourses can raise in us; which work but coldly on persons unconcerned. An argument not foreign to this, is used by all the assertors of Episcopacy, in which the force of the reasoning is equal to the truth of the assertion; which is, that it is not possible to think that a government can be criminal, under which the world received the Christian religion, and that in a course of many ages, in which as all the corners of the Christian church, so all the parts of it, the sound as well as the unsound, that is, the Orthodox as well as the Heretics and Schismatics, agreed: the persecutions that lay then so heavy on the church made it no desirable thing for a man to be exposed to their first fury, which was always the Bishop's portion; and that in a course of many centuries, in which there was nothing but poverty and labour to be got by the employment:

there being no princes to set it on as an engine of government, and no synods of clergymen gathered to assume that authority to themselves by joint designs and endeavours. And can it be imagined that in all that glorious cloud of witnesses to the truth of the Christian religion, who as they planted it with their labours, so watered it with their blood, there should not so much as one single person be found, on whom either a love to truth, or an envy at the advancement of others, prevailed so far as to declare against such an early and universal corruption (if it is to be esteemed one). When all this is complicated together, it is really of so great authority, that I love not to give the proper name to that temper that can withstand so plain a demonstration. For what can a man, even heated with all the force of imagination, and possessed with all the sharpness of prejudice, except to the inference made from these premises, that a form so soon introduced, and so wonderfully blessed, could not be contrary to the rules of the gospel; and cannot be ascribed to any other original, but that the apostles every where established it, as the fence about the gospel which they planted, so that our religion and government are to be reckoned twins born at the same time, and both derived from the same fathers.

But things so remote require more than ordinary knowledge to set them before us in a true light: and their distance from us makes them lessen as much to our thoughts, as objects that are far from us do to our eyes. Therefore it will be perhaps necessary in order to the giving a fuller and amiabler prospect of that apostolical constitution, to choose a scene that lies nearer, and more within all people's view; that so it may appear, that for the living arguments in favour of this government we need not go so far as to the Clement's, the Ignatius's, the Polycarp's, the Irenæus's, the Denys's, and the Cyprian's, that were the glories of the golden ages: nor to the Athanasius's, the Basil's, the Gregory's, the Chrysostome's, the Martin's, the Ambrose's and the Austin's, that were the beauties of the second but silver age of Christianity; but that even in this iron age, and dreg of time, there

have been such patterns, as perhaps can hardly be matched since miracles ceased.

We ought not to deny the church of Rome the just praises that belong to some of the bishops she has produced in this and the last age, who were burning and shining lights: and we ought not to wonder if a church so blemished all over with the corruptions of her clergy, and in particular of the heads of them, covers herself from those deserved reproaches by the brightness of such great names; and by the exemplary virtues of the present pope, which being so unusual a thing, it is not strange to see them magnify and celebrate it as they do. France has likewise produced in this age a great many bishops, of whom it must be said, that as the world was not worthy of them, so that church, that used them so ill, was much less worthy of them. And though there are not many of that stamp now left, yet Cardinal Grimaldy,* the Bishop of Angiers, and the Bishop of Grenoble, may serve to dignify an age, as well as a nation. The Bishop of Alet was, as a great and good man told me, like a living and speaking gospel.

It is true their entanglements with the see of Rome and the court of France, were things both uneasy and dangerous to them; but I love not to point at their blind sides, it is their fair one that I would set out: and if we can bear the highest commendations that can be given to the virtues of heathen philosophers, even when they do eclipse the reputation of the greater part of Christians; it will be unjust for any to be uneasy at the praises given to prelates of another communion, who are to be so much the more admired, if notwithstanding all the corruptions that lie so thick about them, that they could hardly break through them, they have set the world such examples as ought indeed to make others ashamed that have much greater advantages. But since the giving of orders is almost the only part of their function, that is yet entirely in their hands, they have indeed brought a regulation into that which was so grossly abused in former times, that cannot be enough commended, nor too

* Who is dead since this was first written.

much imitated; they have built and endowed seminaries for their diocesses, in which a competent number of young ecclesiastics are bred at studies and exercises suitable to that profession, to which they are to be dedicated; and as they find them well prepared, they are, by the several steps and degrees of the pontifical, led up to the altar, and kept there till benefices fall, and so they are removed from thence, as from a nursery, into the several parts of the diocesses. By this means, the secular clergy of France have in a great measure recovered their reputation, and begin now to bear down the regulars, whose credit and wealth had risen chiefly by the ignorance and scandals of the curates. In this, the present Archbishop of Rheims has set a pattern to the rest, suitable to the high rank he holds in that church, for he has raised a seminary that cost him fifty thousand crowns a building, and above five thousand crowns a year in supporting the expense of it; in which there are about one hundred ecclesiastics maintained; and out of these he ordains every year such a number as the extent of his diocess does require: and with these he supplies the vacancies that fall. This is a way of employing the revenues of the church, that is exactly suitable to the sense of the primitive times, in which a bishop was not considered as the proprietor, but only as the administrator and dispenser of the revenue belonging to his see: and there is scarce any one thing concerning which the synods in those ages took more care than to distinguish between the goods and estate that belonged to a bishop by any other title, and those that he had acquired during his episcopate: for though he might dispose of the one, the other was to fall to the church.

But now to return to the subject that led me into this digression, there is nothing that can have a stronger operation to overcome all prejudices against Episcopacy, than the proposing eminent patterns, whose lives continue to speak still, though they are dead: of which my native country has produced, both in the last and in the present age, some great and rare instances, of which very eminent effects appeared, even amidst all that rage of furious zeal,

into which that nation was transported against it: and I suppose the reader will not be ill pleased if I make a second digression to entertain him with some passages concerning them, but will bear with it perhaps better than with the former.

And since my education and the course of my life has led me most to know the affairs of Scotland, I will not enter upon a province that is foreign to me, and therefore shall leave to others the giving an account of the great glories of the church of England, and will content myself with telling some more eminent things of some of our Scottish bishops: in which I will say nothing upon flying reports, but upon very credible, if not certain information. There was one Patrick Forbes of Aberdeenshire, a gentleman of quality and estate, but much more eminent by his learning and piety, than his birth or fortune could make him. He had a most terrible calamity on him in his family, which needs not be named: I do not know whether that or a more early principle determined him to enter into orders. He undertook the labour of a private cure in the country, upon the most earnest invitations of his bishop, when he was forty-eight years old, and discharged his duty there so worthily, that within a few years he was promoted to be Bishop of Aberdeen; in which see he sat about seventeen years. It was not easy for King James to persuade him to accept of that dignity, and many months passed before he could be induced to it, for he had intended to have lived and died in a more obscure corner. It soon appeared how well he deserved his promotion, and that his unwillingness to it was not feigned, but the real effect of his humility: he was in all things an apostolical man. He used to go round his diocess without noise, and but with one servant, that so he might be rightly informed of all matters. When he heard reports of the weakness of any of his clergy, his custom was to go and lodge unknown near their church on the Saturday night, and next day, when the minister was got into the pulpit, he would come to church, that so he might observe what his ordinary sermons

were, and accordingly he admonished or encouraged them. He took such care of the two colleges in his diocess, that they became quickly distinguished from all the rest of Scotland: so that when the troubles in that church broke out, the doctors there were the only persons that could maintain the cause of the church; as appears by the papers that passed between them and the covenanters. And though they begun first to manage that argument in print, there has nothing appeared since more perfect than what they writ. They were an honour to the church both by their lives and by their learning, and with that excellent temper they seasoned that whole diocess, both clergy and laity, that it continues to this day very much distinguished from all the rest of Scotland, both for learning, loyalty, and peaceableness; and, since that good Bishop died but three years before the rebellion broke out, the true source of that advantage they had, is justly due to his memory: one of these doctors was his son John, the heir of his virtues and piety, as well as of his fortune: but much superior to him in learning; and he was perhaps inferior to no man of his age, which none will dispute, that have read his '*Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ*,' a work which if he had finished it, and had been suffered to enjoy the privacies of his retirement and study, to give us the second volume, had been the greatest treasure of theological learning that perhaps the world has yet seen. He was divinity professor at Aberdeen, an endowment raised by his father; but was driven out by the covenant, and forced to fly beyond sea. One memorable thing of his father ought not to be left unmentioned; he had synods twice a year of his clergy, and before they went upon their other business, he always began with a short discourse, excusing his own infirmities, and charging them, if they knew or observed any thing amiss in him, they would use all freedom with him, and either come and warn him in secret of secret errors, or if they were public, that they would speak of them there in public, and upon that he withdrew to leave them to the freedom of speech. This condescension of his was never abused but by one petulant

man, to whom all others were very severe for his insolence, only the bishop bore it gently and as became him.

One of the doctors of Aberdeen, bred in his time, and of his name William Forbes, was promoted by the late King, while he was in Scotland in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-three, to the bishopric of Edinburgh, that was then founded by him, so that that glorious King said on good grounds, that he had found out a bishop that deserved that a see should be made for him; he was a grave and eminent divine; my father, that knew him long, and being of council for him in his law-matters, had occasion to know him well, has often told me, that he never saw him but he thought his heart was in heaven, and he was never alone with him but he felt within himself a commentary on these words of the apostles, ‘ Did not our hearts burn within us, while he yet talked with us, and opened to us the Scriptures?’ He preached with a zeal and vehemence, that made him often forget all the measures of time, two or three hours was no extraordinary thing for him; those sermons wasted his strength so fast, and his ascetical course of life was such, that he supplied it so scantily that he died within a year after his promotion; so he only appeared there long enough to be known, but not long enough to do what might have been otherwise expected from so great a prelate. That little remnant of his that is in print shews how learned he was. I do not deny but his earnest desire of a general peace and union among all Christians has made him too favourable to many of the corruptions in the church of Rome; but though a charity that is not well balanced, may carry one to very indiscreet things; yet the principle from whence they flowed in him was so truly good, that the errors to which it carried him, ought to be either excused, or at least to be very gently censured.

Another of our late Bishops was the noblest born of all the order, being brother to the Lord Boyd, that is one of the best families of Scotland, but was provided to the poorest bishopric, which was Argyle; yet he did great things in it. He found his diocess overrun with ignorance and barbarity, so that in many places the name of Christ was not known; but he went about

that apostolical work of planting the gospel, with a particular industry, and almost with equal success. He got churches and schools to be raised and endowed every where ; and lived to see a great blessing on his endeavours ; so that he is not so much as named in that country to this day but with a particular veneration, even by those who are otherwise no way equitable to that order. The only answer that our angry people in Scotland used to make when they were pressed with such instances, was, that there were too few of them ; but some of the severest of them have owned to me, that if there were many such bishops they would all be episcopal.

I shall not add much of the bishops that have been in that church since the last re-establishing of the order, but that I have observed among the few of them, to whom I had the honour to be known particularly, as great and as exemplary things, as ever I met with in all ecclesiastical history : not only the practice of the strictest of all the ancient canons, but a pitch of virtue and piety beyond what can fall under common imitation, or be made the measure of even the most angelical rank of men ; and saw things in them that would look liker fair ideas, than what men clothed with flesh and blood could grow up to. But of this I will say no more, since those that are concerned are yet alive, and their character is too singular, not to make them to be as easily known, if I enlarged upon it,* as if I named them.

But of one that is dead I may be allowed to say somewhat ; with whom the see of Aberdeen was as happy in this age, as it was in his worthy predecessor Forbes in the last ; both in the number of the years, for he sat seventeen years in that chair, and in the rare qualities that dignified them both almost equally. He also saw his son fill the divinity chair, as the other had done ; but here was the fatal difference, that he only lived long enough to raise the greatest expectation that I ever knew upon any of that nation of his stand.

* The worthy person here meant, is dead since this was put in the press ; but both his name and a more particular account of him, as it well deserves a book by itself, so will perhaps be given on another occasion.

ing; for when all hoped to see in him a second Dr. Forbes, or, to bring it nearer home, another Bishop Scougall, for that was his father's name, he died very young. The endearing gentleness of the father to all that differed from him, his great strictness in giving orders, his most unaffected humility and contempt of the world, were things so singular in him, that they deserved to be much more admired than his other talents, which were also extraordinary, a wonderful strength of judgment, a dexterity in the conduct of affairs, which he employed chiefly in the making up of differences, and a discretion in his whole deportment. For he had a way of familiarity, by which he gave every body all sort of freedom with him, and in which at the same time he inspired them with a veneration for him, and by that he gained so much on their affections, that he was considered as the common father of his whole diocess, and the Dissenters themselves seemed to esteem him no less than the Conformists did. He took great pleasure in discoursing often with young divines, and set himself to frame in them right and generous notions of the Christian religion, and of the pastoral care; so that a set of men grew up under his labours, that carry still on them clear characters of his spirit and temper.

One thing more I will add, which may afford a more general instruction. Several years ago he observed a great heat in some young minds, that, as he believed, had very good intentions, but were too forward, and complained much of abuses, calling loudly, and not very decently, for a reformation of them: upon which he told them, the noise made about reforming abuses was the likeliest way to keep them up; for that would raise heats and disputes, and would be ascribed to envy and faction in them; and ill-minded men, that loved the abuses for the advantages they made by them, would blast and misrepresent those that went about to correct them, by which they would fall under the jealousy of being ill affected to the church; and they being once loaded with this prejudice, would be disabled from doing the good, of which they might otherwise be the instruments; therefore he thought a

reformation of abuses ought to be carried on by every one in his station, with no other noise than what the things themselves must necessarily produce, and then the silent way of conviction that is raised by great patterns would speak louder, and would recommend such practices more strongly, as well as more modestly. Discourses work but upon speculative people; and it has been so long the method of factious and ill designing men, to accuse public errors, that he wished those, to whom he addressed his advice, would give over all thoughts of mending the world, which was grown too old in wickedness to be easily corrected; and would only set themselves to do what good they could, with less noise; and so to give less occasion to angry people to quarrel with them; and to justify those abuses which are by such indiscreet opposition, kept in some credit, and preserved; whereas without that they must have fallen under so general an odium, that few could have the face to excuse them.

And now I have done with this digression; which not being at all foreign to my design of raising the credit due to that venerable order. I shall make no apology for it; but shall come next to the subject of the following book. I had a great collection of memoirs put in my hands by a worthy and learned divine, Mr. Clogy, who as he lived long in this Bishop's house, so being afterward minister at Cavan, had occasion to know him well: and as he had a great zeal to see the justice done to his memory and the service done to the world, which the putting these in order, and the publishing them must needs produce; so he judged it would come better from another hand than his, that was so much obliged by him, that it might be thought affection and gratitude had biassed him too much. I confess my part in this was so small that I can scarce assume any thing to myself, but the copying out what was put in my hands. Lives must be written with the strictness of a severe historian, and not helped up with rhetoric and invention. But there are two great imperfections that must be pardoned in this account: the one is, that there is so little said of him gathered from any of his own writ-

ings, which would raise his character much higher than any thing that others, though of his most intimate acquaintance, could preserve in their memories : the other is, that such journals as perhaps some that intended to give a full representation of him to posterity, might have writ, were all lost in the same common shipwreck of the Irish rebellion ; in which though our Bishop's works were swallowed up, yet he himself met with a most distinguished fate, more suitable to his own rare merit, than to the enraged fury of those cannibals. And it was so unlike their deportment in all other places, and to all other persons, that it ought rather to be ascribed to a tender and watchful providence, and to be reckoned among its miracles, than to any impressions that his worth made on those barbarians, who seemed to be as incapable of all the tendernesses of human nature, and as regardless of religion and virtue, as bears or wolves are ; or if there was any difference, it lay in this, that the one are satiated with blood and prey, whereas these burnt with a thirst of blood that seemed unsatisfiable ; and their cruel tempers being excited by their priests, no wonder if they made havock of all that fell in their way. The greatest wonder was, how one that had so just a title to the rage of their priests, should have been so preserved among them, when he fell into their hands, and so honoured by them at his death ; by which it appeared that the same mighty power that saved Daniel's three friends from the violence of the fire, and himself from the rage of the lions, is not yet exhausted.

The memorials here put in order, are nothing but what the memory of that good man could afford, together with some few remnants of the Bishop's own pen, gathered up like boards after a shipwreck. But in them we may find all that is great in a man, in a Christian, and in a bishop : and that in so eminent a manner, that if the fame of the person were not so great, and if the usage he met with among the Irish, were not a testimony beyond exception, I could scarce hope to be believed. I will give only a bare and simple relation of his life, and will avoid the bestowing on him or his actions such epithets and praises as they

deserve: but will leave that to the reader: for in writing of lives all big words are to be left to those who dress up legends, and make lives rather than write them: the things themselves must praise the person, otherwise all the good words that the writer bestows on him, will only shew his own great kindness to his memory, but will not persuade others: on the contrary, it will incline them to suspect his partiality, and make them look on him as an author rather than a writer.

WILLIAM BEDELL

WAS born at Black Notley in Essex, in the year 1570, he was the younger son of an ancient and good family, and of no inconsiderable estate, which has now descended to his son (his elder brother dying without issue): after he had passed through the common education at schools, he was sent to Emmanuel College in Cambridge, and put under Dr. Chadderton's care, the famous and long-lived head of that house; and here all those extraordinary things, that rendered him afterward so conspicuous, began to shew themselves in such a manner, that he came to have a very eminent character both for learning and piety: so that appeals were oft made to him, as differences or controversies arose in the University. He was put in holy orders by the Bishop Suffragan of Colchester. Till I met with this passage, I did not think these Suffragans had been continued so long in England: how they came to be put down, I do not know; it is probable they did ordain all that desired orders, so promiscuously, that the bishops found it necessary to let them fall. For complaints were made of this Suffragan, upon which he was threatened with the taking his commission from him: for though they could do nothing but by a delegation from the Bishop, yet the orders they gave were still valid, even when they transgressed in conferring them: upon that the Suffragan said a thing that was as insolent in him, as it was honourable for Mr. Bedell, that he had ordained a better man than any the Bishop had ordained, naming Bedell. He was chosen Fellow of the College in 1593, and took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity in the year 1599.

From the University he was removed to the town of St. Edmondsbury in Suffolk, where he served long in

the gospel, and with great success, he and his colleague being of such different characters, that whereas it was said of him that he made the difficultest places of Scripture appear plain, it was said, that his colleague made the plainest places appear difficult; the opening of dark passages, and the comparing of many texts of Scripture, together with a serious and practical application of them, being the chief subject of his sermons: which method several other great men at that time followed, such as Bishop Usher, Dr. Jackson, and Mr. Mede. He had an occasion given him not long after his settlement in this charge, to shew his courage, and how little he either courted preferment, or was afraid of falling under the displeasure of great men: for when the Bishop of Norwich proposed some things to a meeting of his clergy, with which they were generally dissatisfied, though they had not resolution enough to oppose them; he took that hard province upon himself, and did it with so much strength of reason, as well as discretion, that many of those things were let fall: upon which, when his brethren came and magnified him for it, he checked them, and said, he desired not the praises of men. His reputation was so great and so well established, both in the University and in Suffolk, that when King James sent Sir Henry Wotton to be his ambassador at Venice, at the time of the interdict, he was recommended as the fittest man to go chaplain in so critical a conjuncture. This employment proved much happier and more honourable for him than that of his fellow-student and chamber-fellow Mr. Waddesworth, who was at that time beneficed in the same diocess with him, and was about that time sent into Spain, and was afterward appointed to teach the Infanta the English tongue, when the match between the late King and her was believed concluded: for Waddesworth was prevailed on to change his religion and abandon his country, as if in them those words of our Saviour had been to be verified, 'There shall be two in one bed, the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left.' For as the one of these was wrought on to forsake his religion, the other was very near the being an instrument of a great and happy change in

the republic of Venice. I need not say much of a thing so well known as were the quarrels of Pope Paul V. and that republic ; especially since the history of them is written so particularly by him that knew the matter best, P. Paulo. Some laws made by the Senate, not unlike our statutes of Mortmain, restraining the excessive donations, extorted from superstitious men, and the imprisoning two lewd friars, in order to the executing justice on them, were the grounds of the quarrel ; and upon those pretences, the ecclesiastical immunity from the secular tribunals was asserted to such a degree, that after that high spirited Pope had tried what the spiritual sword could do, but without success (his interdict not being observed by any, but the Jesuits, the Capuchins and Theatines, who were upon that banished the state, for the age of the Anselms and the Becketts could not be now recalled), he resolved to try the temporal sword next, according to the advice Cardinal Baronius gave him ; who told him in the consistory, that there were two things said to St. Peter, the first was, ‘ Feed my sheep,’ the other was, ‘ Arise and kill ;’ and therefore since he had already executed the first part of St. Peter’s duty, in feeding the flock, by exhortations, admonitions, and censures, without the desired effect, he had nothing left but to arise and kill : and that not being an age in which croisades could pass upon the world ; and the Pope not finding any other prince that would execute his bulls, he resolved to make war upon them himself, hoping to find assistance from the crown of Spain, who, he believed, would be willing to enlarge their dominions on that side : but when all help failed him, and he saw that his censures had not created any distractions in the republic, and found their treasure and force like to prove a match too hard to the apostolical chamber, and to such forces as he could levy and pay, he was at last willing to accept of a mediation, in which the Senate, though they were content to deliver up the two profligate friars, yet asserted their right, and maintained their laws, notwithstanding all his threatenings ; nor would they so much as ask pardon, or crave absolution. But without going further into

matters so generally known, I shall only mention those things in which Mr. Bedell had some share.

P. Paulo was then the divine of the state, a man equally eminent for vast learning and a most consummated prudence; and was at once one of the greatest divines, and of the wisest men of his age. But to commend the celebrated historián of the Council of Trent, is a thing so needless that I may well stop; yet it must needs raise the character of Bedell much, that an Italian, who, besides the caution that is natural to the country, and the prudence that obliged one in his circumstances to a more than ordinary distrust of all the world, was tied up by the strictness of that government to a very great reservedness with all people, yet took Bedell into his very soul; and, as Sir Henry Wotton assured the late King, he communicated to him the inwardest thoughts of his heart, and professed that he had learned more from him in all the parts of divinity, whether speculative or practical, than from any he had ever conversed with in his whole life. So great an intimacy with so extraordinary a person is enough to raise a character, were there no more to be added. P. Paulo went further, for he assisted him in acquiring the Italian tongue, in which Bedell became such a master, that he spoke it as one born in Italy, and penned all the sermons he then preached, either in Italian or Latin; in this last it will appear by the productions of his pen yet remaining, that he had a true Roman style, inferior to none of the modern writers, if not equal to the ancients. In requital of the instruction he received from P. Paulo in the Italian tongue, he drew a grammar of the English tongue for his use, and for some others that desired to learn it, that so they might be able to understand our books of divinity, and he also translated the English Common-prayer Book into Italian; and P. Paulo and the seven divines that during the interdict were commanded by the Senate both to preach and write against the Pope's authority, liked it so well, that they resolved to have made it their pattern, in case the differences between the Pope and them had produced the effect which they hoped and longed for.

The intimacy between them grew so great and so public, that when P. Paulo was wounded by those assassins that were set on by the court of Rome to destroy so redoubted an enemy, upon the failing of which attempt a guard was set on him by the Senate, that knew how to value and preserve so great a treasure ; and much precaution was used before any were admitted to come to him, Bedell was excepted out of those rules, and had free access to him at all times. They had many and long discourses concerning religion : he found P. Paulo had read over the Greek New Testament with so much exactness, that having used to mark every word when he had fully weighed the importance of it as he went through it ; he had by going often over it, and observing what he past over in a former reading, grown up to that at last, that every word was marked of the whole New Testament : and when Bedell suggested to him critical explications of some passages that he had not understood before, he received them with the transports of one that leapt for joy, and that valued the discoveries of divine truth beyond all other things.

During his stay at Venice, the famous Ant. de Dominis, archbishop of Spalata, came to Venice ; and having received a just character of Mr. Bedell, he discovered his secret to him, and shewing him his ten books *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, which he afterward printed at London : Bedell took the freedom which he allowed him, and corrected many ill applications of texts of Scripture, and quotations of fathers. For that prelate being utterly ignorant of the Greek tongue, could not but be guilty of many mistakes both in the one and the other ; and if there remain some places still that discover his ignorance of that language too plainly, yet there had been many more, if Bedell had not corrected them : but no wonder if in such a multitude some escaped his diligence. De Dominis took all this in good part from him, and did enter into such familiarity with him, and found his assistance so useful, and indeed so necessary to himself, that he used to say he could do nothing without him.

A passage fell out during the interdict, that made

greater noise than perhaps the importance of it could well amount to: but it was suited to the Italian genius. There came a Jesuit to Venice, Thomas Maria Caraffa, who printed a thousand Theses of philosophy and divinity, which he dedicated to the Pope with this extravagant inscription, 'PAULO V. VICE-DEO Christianæ Reipublicæ Monarchæ invictissimo, et Pontificiæ Omnipotentis conservatori acerrimo.' *'To Paul, the V. the Vice-God, the most invincible Monarch of the Christian Commonwealth, and the most zealous asserter of the Papal Omnipotency.'*

All people were amazed at the impudence of this title, but when Mr. Bedell observed that the numeral letters of the first words, PAULO V. VICE-DEO being put together, made exactly 666, the number of the beast in the Revelation, he communicated this to P. Paulo and the seven divines, and they carried it to the Duke and Senate: it was entertained almost as if it had come from heaven, and it was publicly preached over all their territories, that here was a certain evidence that the Pope was Antichrist: and it is like this was promoted by them more, because they found it took with the Italians, than that they could build much upon it; though it was as strong as the like computation from the Greek word *λατῆινος*, upon which some of the ancients laid some weight. This flew so over Italy, that lest it should take too much among the people, the Pope caused his emissaries to give it out every where, that Antichrist was now born in Babylon, and was descended of the tribe of Dan; and that he was gathering a vast army, with which he intended to come and destroy Christendom: and therefore all Christian princes were exhorted to prepare all their forces for resisting so great an invasion. And with this piece of false news that was given out very confidently, the other conceit was choked. But though Mr. Bedell makes use of it in his book against Waddesworth, yet he was too modest a man to claim the discovery of it to himself, but Sir Henry Wotton assured King James, that he first observed it.

Here I must add a passage, concerning which I am in doubt whether it reflected more on the sincerity, or

on the understanding of the English ambassador. The breach between the Pope and the republic was brought very near a crisis; so that it was expected a total separation, not only from the court, but the church of Rome, was like to follow upon it. It was set on by P. Paulo and the seven divines with much zeal, and was very prudently conducted by them. In order to the advancing of it, King James ordered his ambassador to offer all possible assistance to them, and to accuse the Pope and the Papacy as the chief authors of all the mischiefs of Christendom. The Prince and Senate answered this in words full of respect to King James, and said, that they knew things were not so bad as some endeavoured to make the world believe, on design to sow discord between Christian princes: and when the Pope's Nuncio objected, that King James was not a Catholic, and so was not to be relied on; the Duke answered, the King of England believed in Jesus Christ, but he did not know in whom some others believed. Upon which P. Paulo and the seven divines pressed Mr. Bedell to move the ambassador to present King James's premonition to all Christian princes and states, then put in Latin, to the Senate, and they were confident it would produce a great effect. But the ambassador could not be prevailed on to do it at that time, and pretended that since St. James's day was not far off, it would be more proper to do it on that day. If this was only for the sake of a speech that he had made on the conceit of St. James's day and King James's book, with which he had intended to present it, that was a weakness never to be excused. But if this was only a pretence, and that there was a design under it, it was a crime not to be forgiven. All that Bedell could say or do to persuade him not to put off a thing of such importance was in vain; and indeed I can hardly think that Wotton was so weak a man as to have acted sincerely in this matter. Before St. James's day came, which I suppose was the first of May, and not the twenty-fifth of July, the difference was made up, and that happy opportunity was lost; so that when he had his audience on that day, in which he presented the book, all the answer he got, was, that they thanked

the King of England for his good will, but they were now reconciled to the Pope, and that therefore they were resolved not to admit of any change in their religion, according to their agreement with the court of Rome.

It may be easily imagined what a wound this was to his chaplain, but much more to those who were more immediately concerned in that matter; I mean P. Paulo with the seven divines, and many others, who were weary of the corruptions of their worship, and were groaning for a reformation. But now the reconciliation with Rome was concluded: the Senate carried the matter with all the dignity and majesty that became that most serene republic, as to all civil things: for they would not ask absolution; but the Nuncio, to save the Pope's credit, came into the Senate-house, before the Duke was come, and crossed his cushion, and absolved him. Yet upon this they would not suffer any public signs of joy to be made; nor would they recal the Jesuits. But in all these things greater regard was had to the dignity of their state, than to the interest of religion; so that P. Paulo was out of all hopes of bringing things ever back to so promising a conjuncture; upon which he wished he could have left Venice and come over to England with Mr. Bedell: but he was so much esteemed by the Senate for his great wisdom, that he was consulted by them as an oracle, and trusted with their most important secrets: so that he saw it was impossible for him to obtain his congè; and therefore he made a shift to comply as far as he could with the established way of their worship; but he had in many things particular methods, by which he in a great measure rather quieted than satisfied his conscience. In saying of mass, he passed over many parts of the Canon, and in particular those prayers, in which that sacrifice was offered up to the honour of saints: he never prayed to saints, nor joined in those parts of the offices that went against his conscience; and in private confessions and discourses, he took people off from those abuses, and gave them right notions of the purity of the Christian religion; so he hoped he was sowing seeds that might be fruitful in another age: and thus he believed

he might live innocent in a church that he thought so defiled. And when one pressed him hard in this matter, and objected that he still held communion with an idolatrous church, and gave it credit by adhering outwardly to it, by which means others that depended much on his example would be likewise encouraged to continue in it, all the answer he made to this was, that God had not given him the spirit of Luther. He expressed great tenderness and concern for Bedell, when he parted with him ; and said, that both he and many others would have gone over with him, if it had been in their power ; but that he might never be forgot by him, he gave him his picture, with an Hebrew Bible without points, and a little Hebrew Psalter, in which he writ some sentences expressing his esteem and friendship for him ; and with these he gave him the invaluable manuscript of the History of the Council of Trent, together with the History of the Interdict, and of the Inquisition : the first of these will ever be reckoned the chief pattern after which all, that intend to succeed well in writing history, must copy. But among other papers that P. Paulo gave him, some that were of great importance are lost: for in a letter of Mr. Bedell's to Dr. Ward, he mentions a collection of letters that were sent him weekly from Rome during the contests between the Jesuits and Dominicans, concerning the efficacy of grace ; of which P. Paulo gave him the originals ; and in his letter to Dr. Ward he mentions his having sent them to him. These, very probably, contained a more particular relation of that matter than the world has yet seen, since they were writ to so curious and so inquisitive a man ; but it seems he did not allow Bedell to print them, and so I am afraid they are now irrecoverably lost.

When Bedell came over, he brought along with him the Archbishop of Spalata, and one Despotine a physician, who could no longer bear with the corruptions of the Roman worship ; and so chose a freer air. The latter lived near him in St. Edmondsbury, and was by his means introduced into much practice, which he maintained so well that he became eminent in his profession, and continued to his death to keep up a con-

stant correspondence with him. As for the Archbishop of Spalata his story, it is too well known to need to be much enlarged on. He was an ambitious man, and set too great a value on himself, and expressed it so indecently, that it sunk much in the estimation of the English clergy, by whom he was at first received with all possible respect: but after he had stayed some years in England, upon the promotion of Pope Gregory XIV. that had been his school-fellow, and old acquaintance, he was made believe that the Pope intended to give him a cardinal's hat, and to make great use of him in all affairs, so that he fancied that he should be the instrument of a great reformation in the church. His pride made him too easy to flatter himself with these vain hopes, and the distaste some of the English clergy had taken at him for his ambition and covetousness, gave Gundamor the Spanish ambassador great advantages in the conduct of that matter; for his mind that was blown up with vanity, and sharpened with resentment, was easily wrought on, so that he, believing that the promises made him would not only be performed, but that he might be the instrument of bringing about a great change even at Rome, went thither. He was at first well received by the Pope himself: but he happened to say of Cardinal Bellarmine, that had writ against him, that he had not answered his arguments. Upon which a complaint was carried to the Pope, as if he had been still of the same mind, in which he was when he published his books. He excused himself, and said, that though Bellarmine had not answered his arguments, yet he did not say they were unanswerable; and he offered to answer them himself, if they would allow him time for it. But this excuse was not accepted, so he was cast into the Inquisition, but was never brought to any trial: he was poisoned not long after, and his body was cast out at a window, and all his goods were confiscated to the Pope. This was the tragical end of that great but inconstant man: if he had had as good a soul as he had a great understanding, together with his vast learning, considering his education and other disadvantages, he had deserved to have been reckoned among the greatest men of his age. In

his fate it appeared, how foolishly credulous vanity makes a man; since he that was an Italian born, and knew the court of Rome so well, could be wrought on so far, as to believe that they were capable of pardoning and promoting him after the mischief he had done their cause. This account of that matter, my author had from Master Bedell's own mouth.

But now Mr. Bedell had finished one of the scenes of his life with great honour. The most considerable addition he made to his learning at Venice, was in the improvements in the Hebrew, in which he made a great progress by the assistance of R. Leo, that was the chief Chacham of the Jewish synagogue there: from him he learned their way of pronunciation, and some other parts of rabbinical learning; but in exchange of it, he communicated to him, that which was much more valuable, the true understanding of many passages in the Old Testament, with which that Rabbi expressed himself often to be highly satisfied: and once in a solemn dispute, he pressed his Rabbi with so clear proofs of Jesus Christ being the true Messias, that he, and several others, of his brethren, had no other way to escape, but to say that their Rabbins every where did expound those prophecies otherwise, according to the tradition of their fathers. By R. Leo's means, he purchased that fair manuscript of the Old Testament, which he gave to Emmanuel College; and, as I am credibly informed, it cost him its weight in silver.

After eight years' stay in Venice, he returned to England, and without pretending to preferment, or aspiring to it, he went immediately to his charge at St. Edmondsbury, and there went on in his ministerial labours; with which he mixed the translating P. Paulo's immortal writings into Latin. Sir Adam Newton translated the two first books of the History of the Council of Trent, but was not master enough of the two languages; so that the Archbishop of Spalata said it was not the same work; but he highly approved of the two last, that were translated by Mr. Bedell, who likewise translated the History of the Interdict, and of the Inquisition, and dedicated them to the King. But no notice was taken of him, and he lived still private

and unknown in that obscure corner. He had a soul of too generous a composition to stoop to those servile compliances, that are often expected by those that have the distribution of preferments in their power. He thought that was an abjectness of spirit that became not a Christian philosopher, much less a churchman, who ought to express a contempt of the world, a contentedness with a low condition, and a resignation of one's outward circumstances wholly to the conduct of Divine Providence; and not to give that advantage which Atheists and Libertines take from the covetousness and aspirings of some churchmen to scoff at religion, and to call priesthood a trade. He was content to deserve preferment, and did not envy others, who upon less merit, but more industry, arrived at it. But though he was forgot at court, yet an eminent gentleman in Suffolk, Sir Thomas Jermyn, who was a privy-counsellor, and vice-chamberlain to King Charles the First, and a great patron of virtue and piety, took such a liking to him, that as he continued his whole life to pay him a very particular esteem; so a considerable living that was in his gift, falling void, he presented him to it in the year 1615. When he came to the Bishop of Norwich to take out his title to it, he demanded large fees for his institution and induction: but Bedell would give no more than what was sufficient gratification for the writing, the wax, and the parchment, and refused to pay the rest. He looked on it as simony in the Bishop, to demand more, and as contrary to the command of Christ, who said to his apostles, 'Freely ye have received, and freely give.' And thought it was a branch of the sin of simony to sell spiritual things to spiritual persons; and since whatsoever was asked, that was more than a decent gratification to the servant for his pains, was asked by reason of the thing that was granted, he thought this was unbecoming the gospel, and that it was a sin both in the giver and in the taker. He had observed that nothing was more expressly contrary to all the primitive rules. Chrysostom examined a complaint made against Antonine, bishop of Ephesus, for exacting fees at ordination. Antonine died before the process

was finished; but some bishops that had paid those fees, were upon that degraded and made incapable to officiate any more, though they pretended, that they paid that money as a fee for obtaining a release from such obligations as lay on them by law, to serve the court. Afterward, not only all ordinations for money, but the taking money for any employment that depended upon the Bishop's gift, was most severely condemned by the Council of Chalcedon. The buyer was to lose his degree, and the seller was to be in danger of it: and after that, severe censures were every where decreed against all presents that might be made to bishops, either before or after ordinations, or upon the account of writings, or of feasts, or any other expense that was brought in use to be made upon that occasion; and even in the Council of Trent, it was decreed, that nothing should be taken for letters dimissory, the certificates, the seals, or upon any such like ground, either by bishops or their servants, even though it was freely offered. Upon these accounts Mr. Bedell resolved rather to lose his presentation to the parsonage of Horingsheath, than to purchase his title to it by doing that which he thought simony. And he left the Bishop and went home: but some few days after, the Bishop sent for him, and gave him his titles without exacting fees of him; and so he removed to that place, where he stayed twelve years, during which time he was a great honour to the church, as well as a pattern to all churchmen. His habit and way of living was very plain, and becoming the simplicity of his profession. He was very tender of those that were truly poor, but was so strict in examining all vagabonds, and so dexterous in discovering counterfeit passes, and took such care of punishing those that went about with them, that they came no more to him, nor to his town. In all that time no notice was ever taken of him, though he gave a very singular evidence of his great capacity. For being provoked by his old acquaintance Waddesworth's letters, he writ upon the points in controversy with the church of Rome, with so much learning and judgment, and in so mild a strain, that no wonder if his book had a good effect on him, for whom it was in-

tended : it is true he never returned and changed his religion himself, but his son came from Spain into Ireland, when Bedell was promoted to the bishopric of Kilmore there, and told him, that his father commanded him to thank him for the pains he was at in writing it: he said, it was almost always lying open before him, and that he had heard him say, he was resolved to save one. And it seems he instructed his son in the true religion, for he declared himself a Protestant on his coming over. This book was printed, and dedicated to the late King, while he was Prince of Wales, in the year 1624. The true reasons that obstructed Bedell's preferment seem to be these: he was a Calvinist in the matter of decrees and grace; and preferments went generally at that time to those that held the other opinions. He had also another principle, which was not very acceptable to some in power; he thought, conformity was an exact adhering to the Rubric; and that the adding any new rite or ceremony, was as much nonconformity, as the passing over those that were prescribed: so that he would not use those bowings or gesticulations that grew so much in fashion, that men's affections were measured by them. He had too good an understanding, not to conclude, that these things were not unlawful in themselves; but he had observed that when once the humour of adding new rites and ceremonies got into the church, it went on by a fatal increase, till it had grown up to that bulk, to which we find it swelled in the church of Rome. And this began so early, and grew so fast, that St. Austin complained of it in his time, saying, that the condition of Christians was then more uneasy by that yoke of observances, than that of the Jews had been. And therefore, Bedell thought the adhering to established laws and rules was a certain and fixed thing; whereas superstition was infinite. So he was against all innovations, or arbitrary and assumed practices; and so much the more when men were distinguished and marked out for preferment, by that which in strictness of law was a thing that deserved punishment. For in the Act of Uniformity, made in the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, it was made highly penal, to

use any other rite or ceremony, order or form, either in the sacraments, or in morning or evening prayers, than what was mentioned and set forth in that book. And this was particularly intended to restrain some that were leavened with the former superstition, and yet for saving their benefices, might conform to the new service, but retain still with it many of the old rites in sacred offices. And it seems our legislators were of the same mind, when the last Act of Uniformity was passed; for there is a special proviso in it, that no rites or ceremonies should be openly used in any church, other than what was prescribed and appointed to be used in and by the said book. Therefore he continued to make the Rubric the measure of his conformity, as well before his promotion as after it.

But he was well satisfied with that which the providence of God laid in his way, and went on in the duties of his pastoral care, and in his own private studies; and was as great a pattern in Suffolk, of the pastoral care, in the lower degree, as he proved afterward in Ireland in the higher order. He laboured not as an hireling that only raised a revenue out of his parish, and abandoned his flock, trusting them to the cheapest mercenary that he could find; nor did he satisfy himself with a slight performance of his duty only for fashion's sake, but he watched over his flock like one that knew he was to answer to God for those souls committed to his charge: so he preached to the understandings and consciences of his parish, and catechised constantly. And, as the whole course of his own most exemplary behaviour was a continued sermon, so he was very exact in the more private parts of his function, visiting the sick, and dealing in secret with his people, to excite or preserve in them a deep sense of religion. This he made his work, and he followed it so close, and lived so much at home, that he was so little known, or so much forgot, that when Diodati came over to England, many years after this, he could hear of him from no person that he met with, though he was acquainted with many of the clergy. He was much amazed at this, to find that so extraordinary a

man, that was so much admired at Venice, by so good judges, was not so much as known in his own country; and so he was out of all hope of finding him out, but by a mere accident he met him on the streets of London, at which there was a great deal of joy on both sides. And upon that Diodati presented him to Morton the learned and ancient Bishop of Duresme, and told how great a value P. Paulo set on him; upon which that Bishop treated him in a very particular manner. It is true, Sir Henry Wotton was always his firm and faithful friend; but his credit at court had sunk: for he fell under necessities, having lived at Venice in an expense above his appointments. And as necessitous courtiers must grow to forget all concerns but their own; so their interest abates; and the favour they are in lessens, when they come to need it too much. Sir Thomas Jermyn was in more credit, though he was always suspected of being too favourable to the Puritans; so that his inclinations being known, the character he could give of him, did not serve to raise him in England.

While he was thus neglected at home, his fame was spread into Ireland; and though he was not known either to the famous Bishop Usher, or to any of the fellows of Trinity College in Dublin, yet he was chosen by their unanimous consent, to be the head of their College, in the year 1627, and as that worthy Primate of Ireland, together with the fellows of the College, writ to him, inviting him to come and accept of that mastership, so an address was made to the King, praying that he would command him to go over. And that this might be the more successful, Sir Henry Wotton was moved to give his Majesty a true account of him, which he did in the following letter.

' May it please your most Gracious Majesty,

' Having been informed, that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh, been directed hither, with a most humble petition unto your Majesty, that you will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedell (now resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk) governor of your college at Dublin, for the

good of that society: and myself being required to render unto your Majesty some testimony of the said William Bedell, who was long my chaplain at Venice, in the time of my employment there; I am bound in all conscience and truth (so far as your Majesty will accept of my poor judgment) to affirm of him, that I think, hardly a fitter man could have been propounded to your Majesty in your whole kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity to the rites of the church, and zeal to advance the cause of God; wherein his travels abroad were not obscure, in the time of the excommunication of the Venetians. For, may it please your Majesty to know, that this is the man whom Padre Paulo took (I may say) into his very soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart; from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had practised in his days: of which all the passages were well known unto the King your father of blessed memory. And so with your Majesty's good favour, I will end this needless office: for the general fame of his learning, his life, and Christian temper, and those religious labours which himself hath dedicated to your Majesty, do better describe him than I am able.

Your Majesty's

Most humble and

faithful servant,

H. WOTTON.'

But when this matter was proposed to Mr. Bedell, he expressed so much both of true philosophy, and real Christianity in the answer that he made to so honourable an offer, that I will not undertake to give it otherwise than in his own words, taken from a letter which he writ to one that had been employed to deal with him in this matter. The original of this and most of the other letters that I set down, were found among the most reverend Primate Usher's papers, and were communicated to me by his reverend and worthy friend Dr. Parre.

‘SIR,

‘With my hearty commendations remembered: I have this day received both your letters, dated the 2d of this month; I thank you for your care and diligence in this matter. For answer whereof, although I could have desired so much respite, as to have conferred with some of my friends, such as possibly do know the condition of that place better than I do, and my insufficiencies better than my Lord Primate; yet since that I perceive by both your letters, the matter requires a speedy and present answer, thus I stand: I am married, and have three children; therefore if the place requires a single man, the business is at an end. I have no want, I thank my God, of any thing necessary for this life; I have a competent living of above a hundred pound a-year, in a good air and seat, with a very convenient house near to my friends, a little parish, not exceeding the compass of my weak voice. I have often heard it, that changing seldom brings the better; especially to those that are well. And I see well, that my wife (though resolving, as she ought, to be contented with whatsoever God shall appoint) had rather continue with her friends in her native country, than put herself into the hazard of the seas, and a foreign land, with many casualties in travel, which she perhaps out of fear apprehends more than there is cause.

All these reasons I have, if I consult with flesh and blood, which move me rather to reject this offer (yet with all humble and dutiful thanks to my Lord Primate for his mind and good opinion of me): on the other side, I consider the end, wherefore I came into the world, and the business of a subject to our Lord Jesus Christ, of a minister of the gospel, of a good patriot, and of an honest man. If I may be of any better use to my country, to God’s church, or of any better service to our common master, I must close mine eyes against all private respects; and if God call me, I must answer, Here I am. For my part therefore I will not stir one foot, or lift up my finger for or against this motion; but if it proceed from the Lord, that is,

if those whom it concerns there, do procure those who may command me here, to send me thither, I shall obey, if it were not only to go into Ireland, but into Virginia, yea though I were not only to meet with troubles, dangers, and difficulties, but death itself in the performance. Sir, I have, as plainly as I can, shewed you my mind; desiring you with my humble service to represent it to my reverend good Lord, my Lord Primate. And God Almighty direct this affair to the glory of his holy name, and have you in his merciful protection; so I rest

Your loving friend,

WILL. BEDELL.'

'From Bury, March 6, 1626.'

The conclusion of this matter was, that the King being well informed concerning him, commanded him to undertake this charge, which he did cheerfully obey; and set about the duties incumbent on him, in such a manner, as shewed how well he had improved the long time of retirement, that he had hitherto enjoyed, and how ripely he had digested all his thoughts and observations. He had hitherto lived as if he had been made for nothing but speculation and study; and now when he entered upon a more public scene, he appeared that he understood the practical things of government and human life so well, that no man seemed to be more cut out for business than he was. In the government of the College, and at his first entry upon a new scene, he resolved to act nothing till he both knew the statutes of the house perfectly well, and understood well the tempers of the people; therefore when he went over first, he carried himself so abstractly from all affairs, that he passed for a soft and weak man. The zeal that appeared afterward in him, shewed, that this coldness was only the effect of his wisdom, and not of his temper: but when he found that some grew to think meanly of him, and that even Usher himself began to change his opinion of him: upon that when he went over to England some months after, to bring his family over to Ireland, he was thinking to have resigned his new preferment, and to have returned to his benefice in Suffolk; but the Primate writ so kind

a letter to him, that as it made him lay down those thoughts, so it drew from him the following words in the answer that he writ to him.

‘ Touching my return, I do thankfully accept your Grace’s exhortation, advising me to have faith in God, and not to consult with flesh and blood, nor have mind of this country. Now I would to God, that your Grace could look into my heart, and see how little I fear lack of provision, or pass upon any outward thing in this world. My chief fear in truth was, and is, lest I should be unfit and unprofitable in that place; in which case, if I might have a lawful and honest retreat, I think no wise man could blame me to retain it: especially having understood that your Grace, whose authority I chiefly followed at the first, did from your own judgment, and that of other wise men, so truly pronounce of me, that I was a weak man. Now that I have received your letters, so full of life and encouragement, it puts some more life in me. For sure it cannot agree with that goodness and ingenuity of yours, praised among all God’s graces in you, by those that know you, to write one thing to me, and to speak another thing to others of me; or to go about to beguile my simplicity with fair words, laying in the meanwhile a net for my feet, especially sith my weakness shall in truth redound to the blaming of your own discretion in bringing me thither.’

Thus was he prevailed on to resign his benefice, and carry his family to Ireland; and then he applied himself, with that vigour of mind that was peculiar to him, to the government of the College.

He corrected such abuses as he found among them; he set such rules to them, and saw these so well executed, that it quickly appeared how happy a choice they had made: and as he was a great promoter of learning among them, so he thought his particular province was to instruct the house aright in the principles of religion. In order to this, he catechised the youth in the College once a week, and preached once a Sunday, though he was not obliged to it: and that he might acquaint them with a plain and particular body of

divinity, he divided the Church Catechism into two and fifty parts, one for every Sunday, and did explain it in a way so mixed with speculative and practical matters, that his sermons were both learned lectures of divinity, and excellent exhortations to virtue and piety: many took notes of them, and copies of them were much inquired after; for as they were fitted to the capacity of his hearers, so they contained much matter in them, for entertaining the most learned. He had not stayed there above two years, when by his friend Sir Thomas Jermyn's means, a patent was sent him to be Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, two contiguous sees in the province of Ulster. And in the letters by which the King signified his pleasure for his promotion, he likewise expressed his acceptance of his service he had done in the College, in very honourable terms as follows:

‘ And as we were pleased by our former gracious letters to establish the said William Bedell, by our royal authority, in the provostship of the said College of the Blessed Trinity near Dublin, where we are informed that by his care and good government, there hath been wrought great reformation, to our singular contentment; so we purpose to continue our care of that society, being the principal nursery of religion and learning in that our realm; and to recommend unto the College some such person from whom we may expect the like worthy effects for their good, as we and they have found from Mr. Bedell.’

And now in the 59th year of his age, he entered upon a different course of life and employment, when it might have been thought, that the vigour of his spirits was much broken and spent. But by his administration of his diocess, it appeared that there remained yet a vast heat and force of spirit to carry him through those difficult undertakings, to which he found himself obliged by this new character; which if it makes a man but a little lower than the angels, so that the term angel is applied to that office in Scripture, he thought it did oblige him to an angelical course of life, and to divide his time, as much as could consist with the frailties and necessities of a body made of flesh

and blood, as those glorious spirits do, between the beholding the face of their Father which is in heaven, and the ministering to the heirs of salvation: he considered the bishop's office made him the shepherd of the inferior shepherds, if not of the whole diocess; and therefore he resolved to spare himself in nothing, by which he might advance the interest of religion among them: and he thought it a disingenuous thing to vouch antiquity for the authority and dignity of that function, and not at the same time to express those virtues and practices that made it so venerable among them. Since the forms of church government must appear amiable and valuable to the world, not so much for the reasonings and arguments that learned men use concerning them, as for the real advantages that mankind find from them. So that he determined with the great Nazianzen, 'to give wings to his soul, to rescue it wholly from the world, and to dedicate it to God:' and not to think it enough to perform his duty in such a manner, as to pass through the rest of his life without reproach: for, according to that father, 'this was to weigh our virtue by small weights;' but in the language of that father he resolved to live, 'as one that had got above his senses, and all sensible things, that was recollected within himself, and had attained to a familiarity with divine matters, that so his mind might be as an unsullied mirror, upon which he might receive and represent the impresses of God and divine things, unallied with the characters of lower objects.' He saw he would fall under some envy, and meet with great oppositions, but he considered that as a sort of martyrdom for God, and resolved cheerfully to undergo whatsoever uneasy things he might be forced to suffer, in the discharge of his conscience and duty.

In laying open his designs and performances in this last and greatest period of his life, I have fuller materials than in the former parts. For my author was particularly known to him during a large part of it, and spent several years in his family; so that his opportunities of knowing him were as great as could be desired, and the Bishop was of so gentle a temper, and of so communicative a nature, that he easily opened

himself to one, that was taken into his alliance as well as into his heart, he being indeed a man of primitive simplicity. He found his diocese under so many disorders, that there was scarce a sound part remaining. The revenue was wasted by excessive dilapidations, and all sacred things had been exposed to sale in so sordid a manner, that it was grown to a proverb. But I will not enlarge further on the ill things others had done, than as it is necessary to shew the good things that were done by him. One of his cathedrals, Ardagh, was fallen down to the ground, and there was scarce enough remaining of both these revenues to support a bishop that was resolved not to supply himself by indirect and base methods: he had a very small clergy, but seven or eight in each diocese of good sufficiency; but every one of these was multiplied into many parishes, they having many vicarages a piece; but being English, and his whole diocese consisting of Irish, they were barbarians to them; nor could they perform any part of divine offices among them. But the state of his clergy will appear best from a letter that he writ to Archbishop Laud concerning it, which I shall here insert.

' Right Reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

' Since my coming to this place, which was a little before Michaelmas (till which time, the settling of the state of the College, and my Lord Primate's visitation deferred my consecration), I have not been unmindful of your Lordship's commands, to advertise you, as my experience should inform me, of the state of the church, which I shall now the better do, because I have been about my diocesses, and can set down, out of my knowledge and view, what I shall relate; and shortly, to speak much ill matter in a few words, it is very miserable. The cathedral church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by St. Patrick, together with the Bishop's house there, down to the ground. The church here, built, but without bell or steeple, font or chalice. The parish churches all in a manner ruined, and unroofed, and unrepaired. The people, saving a few British planters here and there (which

are not the tenth part of the remnant), obstinate recusants. A popish clergy more numerous by far than we, and in full exercise of all jurisdiction ecclesiastical, by their vicar-general and officials; who are so confident as they excommunicate those that come to our courts, even in matrimonial causes: which affront hath been offered myself by the popish primate's vicar-general; for which I have begun a process against him. The primate himself lives in my parish, within two miles of my house; the bishop in another part of my diocess further off. Every parish hath its priest; and some two or three a piece, and so their mass-houses also; in some places mass is said in the churches. Friars there are in divers places, who go about, though not in their habit, and by their importunate begging impoverish the people; who indeed are generally very poor, as from that cause, so, from their paying double tithes to their own clergy, and ours, from the dearth of corn, and the death of their cattle these late years, with the contributions to their soldiers and their agents: and which they forget not to reckon among other causes, the oppression of the court ecclesiastical, which in very truth, my Lord, I cannot excuse, and do seek to reform. For our own, there are seven or eight ministers in each diocess of good sufficiency; and (which is no small cause of the continuance of the people in popery still) English, which have not the tongue of the people, nor can perform any divine offices, or converse with them; and which hold many of them two or three, four, or more vicarages a piece; even the clerkships themselves are in like manner conferred upon the English; and sometimes two or three, or more, upon one man, and ordinarily bought and sold or let to farm. His Majesty is now with the greatest part of this country, as to their hearts and consciences, King, but at the Pope's discretion.

WILL. KILMORE & ARDAGH.'

' Kilmore, Apr. 1, 1630.'

Here was a melancholy prospect to a man of so good a mind, enough to have disheartened him quite, if he had not had a proportioned degree of spirit and courage

to support him under so much weight. After he had recovered somewhat of the spoils made by his predecessor, and so put himself into a capacity to subsist, he went about the reforming of abuses: and the first that he undertook was pluralities, by which one man had a care of souls in so many different places, that it was not possible to discharge his duty to them, nor to perform those vows, which he made at his ordination, of feeding and instructing the flock committed to his care. And though most of the pluralists did mind all their parishes alike, that is, they neglected all equally; yet he thought this was an abuse contrary both to the nature of ecclesiastical functions, to the obligations that the care of souls naturally imported, and to those solemn vows that churchmen made at the altar when they were ordained: and he knew well that this corruption was no sooner observed to have crept into the Christian church, than it was condemned by the fourth general Council at Chalcedon. For when some that had removed from one diocese to another, continued to have their share in the dividend of the church which they had left, as well as of that to which they had gone; the Council decreed, that such transgressors should restore all they had got from the church which they had left, and should be degraded, if they refused to submit to this regulation. He thought it a vain, and indeed an impudent thing, for a man to pretend that he answered the obligation of so sacred a trust, and so holy a vow, by hiring some mercenary curate to perform offices; since the obligation was personal, and the ecclesiastical functions were not like the Levitical service in the temple, in which the observing their rites, was all that was required. But the watching over souls had so many other things involved in it, besides officiating according to the Rubric, that it drew this severe reflection from a witty man, in which though the wit of it may seem too pleasant for so serious a subject, yet it had too much sad truth under it; 'that when such betrayers and abandoners of that trust which Christ purchased with his own blood, found good and faithful curates that performed worthily the obligations of the pastoral care, the incumbent should

be saved by proxy, but be damned in person.' Therefore the Bishop gathered a meeting of his clergy, and in a sermon with which he opened it, he laid before them, both out of Scripture and antiquity, the institution, the nature, and the duties of the ministerial employment; and after sermon he spoke to them largely on the same subject in Latin, styling them, as he always did, his brethren and fellow-presbyters, and exhorting them to reform that intolerable abuse, which as it brought a heavy scandal on the church, and gave their adversaries great advantages against them; so it must very much endanger both their own souls, and the souls of their flocks. And to let them see that he would not lay a heavy burthen on them, in which he would not bear his own share, he resolved to part with one of his bishoprics. For though Ardagh was considered as a ruined see, and had long gone as an accessory to Kilmore, and continues to be so still; yet since they were really two different sees, he thought he could not decently oblige his clergy to renounce their pluralities, unless he set them an example, and renounced his own; even after he had been at a considerable charge in recovering the patrimony of Ardagh, and though he was sufficiently able to discharge the duty of both these sees, they being contiguous, and small; and though the revenue of both did not exceed a competency, yet he would not seem to be guilty of that which he so severely condemned in others: and therefore he resigned Ardagh to Dr. Richardson; and so was now only Bishop of Kilmore. The authority of this example, and the efficacy of his discourse, made such an impression on his clergy, that they all relinquished their pluralities. The arguments that arise out of interest are generally much stronger than those of mere speculation, how well soever it be made out; and therefore this concurrence that he met with from his clergy in so sensible a point, was a great encouragement to him to go on in his other designs. There seemed to be a finger of God in it; for he had no authority to compel them to it, and he had managed the minds of his clergy so gently in this matter that their compliance was not extorted, but both

free and unanimous. For, one only excepted, they all submitted to it; and he being Dean, exchanged his deanery with another; for he was ashamed to live in the diocess, where he would not submit to such terms, after both the Bishop himself, and all his clergy had agreed to them. But the opposition that was given him by the Dean, and both his sense of that matter, and his carriage in it, will appear from the following letter, which he writ concerning it to the Primate: which though it be long and particular, yet it seemed to me too important to be either stifled or abridged.

'Most Reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

'I cannot easily express what contentment I received at my late being with your Grace at Termonseckin. There had nothing happened to me, I will not say, since I came into Ireland, but, as far as I can call to remembrance, in my whole life, which did so much affect me in this kind, as the hazard of your good opinion. For, loving and honouring you in truth (for the truth's sake, which is in us, and shall abide with us for ever) without any private interest, and receiving so unlooked-for a blow from your own hand (which I expected should have tenderly applied some remedy to me, being smitten by others), I had not present the defences of reason and grace. And although I knew it to be a fault in myself, since in the performance of our duties, the judgment of our master, even alone, ought to suffice us; yet I could not be so much master of mine affections, as to cast out this weakness. But blessed be God, who (as I began to say) at my being with you refreshed my spirit by your kind renewing and confirming your love to me, and all humble thanks to you that gave me place to make my defence, and took upon you the cognizance of mine innocency. And as for mine accuser (whose hatred I have incurred only by not giving way to his covetous desire of heaping living upon living, to the evident damage, not only of other souls committed to him, but of his own) truly I am glad, and do give God thanks that this malignity, which a while masked itself in the pretence of friendship, hath at last discovered itself by public opposition. It hath

not, and I hope it shall not be in his power to hurt me at all; he hath rather shamed himself, and although his high heart cannot give his tongue leave to acknowledge his folly, his understanding is not so weak and blind as not to see it. Whom I could be very well content to leave to taste the fruit of it also, without being further troublesome to your Grace, save that I do not despair, but your Grace's authority will pull him out of the snare of Satan, whose instrument he hath been to cross the work of God, and give me more occasion of joy by his amendment, than I had grief by his perversion and opposition.

“Your Grace's letters of Aug. 23, were not delivered to me till the 29th. In the mean space what effect those that accompanied them had with Mr. Dean you shall perceive by the inclosed which were sent me the 28th, the evening before our communion. I answered them the next morning, as is here annexed. As I was at the Lord's table, beginning the service of the communion before sermon, he came in, and after the sermon was done, those that communicated not being departed, he stood forth, and spake to this purpose:

“That whereas the Book of Common Prayer requires that before the Lord's supper, if there be any variance or breach of charity, there should be reconciliation; this was much more requisite between ministers:” and because they all knew that there had been some difference between me and him, he did profess, “that he bare me no malice nor hatred, and if he had offended me in any thing, he was sorry.” I answered, “that he had good reason to be sorry, considering how he had behaved himself. For my part I bare him no malice, and if it were in my power, would not make so much as his finger ache.” Grieved I had been that he, in whom I knew there were many good parts, would become an instrument to oppose the work of God, which I was assured he had called me to. This was all that passed. He offered himself to the Lord's board, and I gave him the communion. After dinner he preached out of 1 John iv. 10. “And this commandment have we from him, that he that loveth God,” &c. When we came out of the church, Dr. Sheriden deli-

vered me your Grace's letters. And thus Mr. Dean thinks he hath healed all, as you may perceive by his next letters of August 30. Only he labours about Kildromfarten. Whereabouts I purposed to have spoken with your Grace at my being with you; but I know not how it came not to my mind, whether it be that the soul, as well as the body, after some travel easily falleth to rest; or else God would have it reserved perhaps to a more seasonable time.

' It is now above a twelvemonth (the day in many respects I may well wish that it may not be reckoned with the days of the year) that your Grace, as it were, delivered to me with your own hands, Mr. Crian, a converted friar. To whom I offered myself as largely as my ability would extend unto: though I had already at your Grace's commendation received Mr. Dunsterville to be in my house, with the allowance of twenty pound per annum. The next day before my departing, Mr. Hilton made a motion to me, that where he had in his hands sufficient to make the benefice of Kildromfarten void, if I would bestow it upon Mr. Dean he would do so; otherwise it should remain *in statu*. I answered with profession of my love and good opinion of Mr. Dean, whereof I shewed the reasons. I added, I did not know the place nor the people, but if they were mere Irish, I did not see how Mr. Dean should discharge the duty of a minister to them. This motion was seconded by your Grace: but so as I easily conceived that being solicited by your old servant, you could do no less than you did; and notwithstanding the lecture he promised your Grace should be read to me in the matter of collations, would not be displeased, if I did as became me, according to my conscience, and in conformity to your former motion for Mr. Crian. Mr. Dean after pressed me, that, if without my concurrence your Grace would confer that living upon him, I would not be against it; which I promised, but heard no more of it till about April last. In the meanwhile the benefice next unto that which Mr. Dunsterville was already possessed of, falling void: Mr. Crian not coming to me, nor purposing to do so till after Christmas,

and whensoever he should come, my house, as I found, not affording room for him and Mr. Dunsterville both, whose former benefice was unable, he said, to maintain him, chiefly he promising residence, and taking of me for that purpose an oath, absolutely without any exception of dispensation, I united it to his former, and dismissed him to go to his cure; wherein how carelessly he hath behaved himself, I forbear to relate. To return to Mr. Dean. About mid-April he brought me a presentation to Kildromfarten under the broad seal. I could do no less but signify to the incumbent, who came to me and maintained his title, requiring me not to admit. Whereupon I returned the presentation, indorsing the reason of my refusal; and being then occasioned to write to the Lords Justices, I signified what I thought of these pluralities, in a time when we are so far overmatched in number by the adverse part. This passed on till the visitation; wherein Mr. Dean shewed himself in his colours. When the Vicar of Kildromfarten was called, he said he was vicar; but would exhibit no title. After, the curate, Mr. Smith, signified to me, that his stipend was unpaid, and he feared it would be still in the contention of two incumbents. Upon these and other reasons, I sequestered the profits, which I have heard by a simoniacal compact betwixt them should be for this year the former incumbent's. Neither did Mr. Dean write or speak a word to me hereabout, till the day before the communion in the inclosed. That very morning I was certified that he purposed to appeal to your Grace, which made me in answer to his next to add, "*Quod facias, fac citius.*"

' Here I beseech your Grace, give me leave to speak freely touching this matter, so much the rather, because it is the only root of all Mr. Dean's despite against me. Plainly I do thus think, that of all the diseases of the church in these times, next to that of the corruption of our courts, this of pluralities is the most deadly and pestilent, especially when those are instituted into charges ecclesiastical, who, were they never so willing, yet for want of the language of the people, are unable to discharge them. Concerning which very point, I know your Grace remembers

the propositions of the learned and zealous Bishop of Lincoln before Pope Innocent. I will not add the confession of our adversaries themselves in the Council of Trent, nor the judgment of that good Father, the author of the history thereof, touching non-residency. Let the thing itself speak. Whence flow the ignorance of the people, the neglect of God's worship, and defrauding the poor of the remains of dedicate things, the ruin of the mansion-houses of the ministers, the desolation of churches, the swallowing up of parishes by the farmers of them, but from this fountain? There may be cause no doubt, why sometimes, in some place and to some man, many churches may be committed; but now, that, as appears by the late certificates, there are, besides the titular primate and bishop, of priests in the diocese of Kilmore and Ardagh, 66, of ministers and curates but 32, of which number also 3, whose wives came not to church: in this so great odds as the adversaries have of us in number (to omit the advantage of the language, the possession of people's hearts, the countenancing of the nobility and gentry), is it a time to commit many churches to one man, whom I will not disable, and he saith he hath a very able interpreter, and I think no less (which made me once to say, that I would sooner confer the benefice of Kildromfarten upon him than upon himself, which resolution I do yet hold, in how ill part soever he take it). But what hath he done in the parishes already committed to him, for the instruction of the Irish, that we should commit another unto him? He that cannot perform his duty to one without a helper, or to that little part of it whose tongue he hath, is he sufficient to do it to three? No, it is the wages is sought, not the work. And yet with the means he hath already, that good man his predecessor maintained a wife and family; and cannot he in his solitary (he had once written monkish) life defray himself? Well, if there can be none found fit to discharge the duty, let him have the wages to better his maintenance. But when your Grace assureth us we shall lack no men, when there is besides Mr. Crian (whom Dr. Sheridan hath heard preach as a friar in that very place;

which I account would be more to God's glory, if there now he should plant the truth, which before he endeavoured to root out) besides him we have Mr. Nugent, who offereth himself in an honest and discreet letter lately written to me, we have sundry in the college, and namely, two trained up at the Irish lecture, one whereof hath translated your Grace's catechism into Irish; besides Mr. Duncan and others; with what colour can we pass by these; and suffer him to fat himself with the blood of God's people? Pardon me, I beseech your Grace, when I say we: I mean not to prescribe any thing to you: myself, I hope, shall never do it, or consent to it. And so long as this is the cause of Mr. Dean's wrath against me, whether I suffer by his pen or his tongue, I shall rejoice as suffering for righteousness sake. And, sith himself in his last letter excuses my intent, I do submit my actions after God, to your Grace's censure, ready to make him satisfaction, if in any things, in word or deed, I have wronged him.

For conclusion of this business (wherein I am sorry to be so troublesome to your Grace) let him surcease this his greedy and impudent pretence to this benefice, let Mr. Nugent be admitted to it, or Mr. Crian, if he be not yet provided for: to whom I will hope ere long to add Mr. Nugent for a neighbour, *σὺν τῷ δὲ ἐρχομένῳ*. If these second (questionless better) thoughts have any place in him; as in his last letters he gives some hope, let my complaints against him be cast into the fire. God make him an humble and modest man. But if Mr. Dean will needs persist, I beseech your Grace to view my reply, to the which I will add no more. As touching his traducing me in your pulpit at Cavan, I have sent your Grace the testimonies of Mr. Robinson and Mr. Teate; although he had been with them before, and denied what they formerly conceived. And if your Grace will be pleased to inquire of Mr. Cape, by a line or two (with whom I never spake a word about the matter), or compare the heads of his sermon (which he saith were general) with his former reports made of me, I doubt not but you will soon find the truth.

I have sent also his protestation against my visitation, wherein I desire your Grace to observe the blindness of malice: he pretends that I may not visit but at or after Michaelmas every year. As if the month of July, wherein I visited, were not after Michaelmas: for before the last Michaelmas I visited not. I omit that he calls himself the head of the chapter. The canon law calls the bishop so: he will have the bishop visit the whole diocess together; directly contrary to that form, which the canons prescribe. But this protestation having neither Latin, nor law, nor common sense, doth declare the skill of him that drew it, and the wit of him that uses it. Which, if your Grace enjoin him not to revoke it, I shall be forced to put remedy unto otherwise, in respect of the evil example and prejudice it might bring to posterity. And now to leave this unpleasing subject. Since my being with you, here was with me Mr. Brady, bringing with him the resignation of the benefice of Mullagh, which I had conferred upon Mr. Dunsterville, and united to his former of Moybolke: he brought with him letters from my Lord of Cork, and Sir William Parsons, to whom he is allied. But examining him, I found him (besides a very raw divine) unable to read the Irish, and therefore excused myself to the Lords for admitting him. A few days after, viz. the 10th of this month, here was with me Mr. Dunsterville himself, and signified to me that he had revoked his former resignation. Thus he plays fast and loose, and most unconscionably neglects his duty. "*Omnes quæ sua sunt, quærunt.*" Indeed I doubted his resignation was not good, inasmuch as he retained still the former benefice, whereunto this was united. Now I see clearly there was a compact between him and Mr. Brady, that if the second could not be admitted, he should resume his benefice again.

'I have received letters from Dr. Warde, of the date of May 28, in which he mentions again the point of the justification of infants by baptism. To whom I have written an answer, but not yet sent it. I send herewith a copy thereof to your Grace, humbly requiring your advice and censure (if it be not too much

to your Grace's trouble) before I send it. I have also written an answer to Dr. Richardson in the question touching the root of efficacy or efficiency of grace ; but it is long, and consists of five or six sheets of paper, so as I cannot now send it; I shall hereafter submit it, as all other my endeavours, to your Grace's censure and correction. I have received also a large answer from my Lord of Derry, touching justifying faith; whereto I have not yet had time to reply; nor do I know if it be worth the labour, the difference being but in the manner of teaching, as whether justifying faith be an assent working affiance; or else an affiance following assent. I wrote presently upon my return from your Grace to my Lords Justices, desiring to be excused from going in person to take possession of the mass-house; and a certificate that my suit with Mr. Cook is depending before them. I have not as yet received answer, by reason (as Sir William Usher signified to my son) the Lord Chancellor's indisposition did not permit his hand to be gotten.

'I do scarce hope to receive any certificate from them, for the respect they will have not to seem to infringe your Grace's jurisdiction. Whereupon I shall be enforced to entertain a proctor for me at your Grace's court, when I am next to appear, it being the very time when my court in the county of Leitrim was set before I was with you.

'Ashamed I am to be thus tedious. But I hope you will pardon me, sith you required, and I promised, to write often; and having now had opportunity to convey my letters, this must serve instead of many: concluding with mine and my wife's humble service to your Grace and Mrs. Usher, and thanks for my kind entertainment, I desire the blessing of your prayers, and remain always,

Your Grace's humble servant,

WILLIAM KILMORE & ARDAGH.'

'Kilmore, September 18, 1630.'

The condemning pluralities was but the half of his project. The next part of it was to oblige his clergy to reside in their parishes; but in this he met with a

great difficulty. King James, upon the last reduction of Ulster after Tyrone's rebellion, had ordered glebelands to be assigned to all the clergy; and they were obliged to build houses upon them, within a limited time, but in assigning those glebelands, the commissioners that were appointed to execute the King's orders, had taken no care of the conveniences of the clergy: for in many places these lands were not within the parish, and often they lay not altogether, but were divided in parcels. So he found his clergy were in a strait. For if they built houses upon these glebelands, they would be thereby forced to live out of their parishes, and it was very inconvenient for them to have their houses remote from their lands. In order to a remedy to this, the Bishop that had lands in every parish assigned him, resolved to make an exchange with them, and to take their glebelands into his own hands for more convenient portions of equal value that he assigned them: and that the exchange might be made upon a just estimate, so that neither the Bishop nor the inferior clergy might suffer by it, he procured a commission from the Lord Lieutenant, for some to examine and settle that matter, which was at last brought to a conclusion with so universal a satisfaction to his whole diocess, that since the thing could not be finally determined without a great seal from the King, confirming all that was done, there was one sent over in all their names to obtain it; but this was a work of time, and so could not be finished in several years: and the rebellion broke out before it was fully concluded.

The Lord Lieutenant at this time was Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterward Earl of Strafford, a name too great to need any enlargement or explanation; for his character is well known. At his first coming over to Ireland, he was possessed with prejudices against the Bishop upon the account of a petition sent up by the county of Cavan, to which the Bishop had set his hand, in which some complaints were made, and some regulations were proposed for the army: which was thought an insolent attempt, and a matter of ill example. So that Strafford, who was severe in his

administration, was highly displeased with him: and when any commission or order was brought to him, in which he found his name, he dashed it out with his own pen, and expressed great indignation against him. When the Bishop understood this, he was not much moved at it, knowing his own innocence; but he took prudent methods to overcome his displeasure. He did not go to Dublin upon his coming over, as all the other bishops did, to congratulate his coming to the government: but he writ a full account of that matter to his constant friend Sir Thomas Jermyn, who managed it with so much zeal, that letters were sent to the deputy from the court, by which he was so much mollified towards the Bishop, that he going to congratulate, was well received, and was ever afterward treated by him with a very particular kindness. So this storm went over, which many thought would have ended in imprisonment, if not in deprivation. Yet how much soever that petition was mistaken, he made it appear very plain, that he did not design the putting down of the army: for he saw too evidently the danger they were in from Popery, to think they could be long safe without it. But a letter that contains his vindication from that aspersion, carries in it likewise such a representation of the state of the popish interest then in Ireland, and of their numbers, their tempers, and their principles, that I will set it down. It was written to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and is taken from the printed copy of it that Mr. Prynne has given us.

‘ Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

* ‘ In the midst of these thoughts, I have been advertised from an honourable friend in England, that I am accused to his Majesty to have opposed his service; and that my hand with two other bishops only, was to a writing touching the money to be levied on the papists for maintenance of the men of war. Indeed, if I should have had such an intention, this had been not only to oppose the service of his Majesty, but to expose with the public peace mine own neck, to the

* This seems to be but the half of the letter by the beginning.

skeans of the Romish cut-throats. I that knew that in this kingdom of his Majesty's, the Pope hath another kingdom far greater in number, and as I have heretofore signified to the Lords Justices and Council (which is also since justified by themselves in print), constantly guided and directed by the order of the new congregation *De propaganda Fide*, lately erected at Rome, transmitted by the means of the Pope's Nuncios residing at Brussels or Paris, that the Pope hath here a clergy, if I may guess by my own diocess, double in number to us, the heads whereof are by corporal oath bound to him, to maintain him and his regalities *contra omnem hominem*, and to execute his mandates to the uttermost of their forces; which accordingly they do, styling themselves in print, "Ego N. Dei, et Apostolicæ sedis gratia Episcopus Fermien et Ossorien." I that knew there is in the kingdom for the moulding of the people to the Pope's obedience, a rabble of irregular regulars, commonly younger brothers of good houses, who are grown to that insolency, as to advance themselves to be members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in better ranks than priests, insomuch that the censure of the Sorbon is fain to be implored to curb them, which yet is called in again; so tender is the Pope of his own creatures. I that knew that his holiness hath erected a new university in Dublin to confront his Majesty's college there, and to breed the youth of the kingdom to his devotion, of which university one Paul Harris, the author of that infamous libel, which was put forth in print against my Lord Armach's Wansted sermon, styleth himself in print to be dean: I that knew and have given advertisement to the state, that these regulars dare erect new fryeries in the country, since the dissolving of these in the city, that they have brought the people to such a sottish senselessness, as they care not to learn the commandments as God himself spake, and writ them; but they flock in great numbers to the preaching of new superstitious and detestable doctrines, such as their own priests are ashamed of; and at all those they levy collections, three, four, five, or six pounds at a sermon. Shortly, I that knew that

those regulars and this clergy have at a general meeting like to a synod, as themselves style it, decreed, that it is not lawful to take an oath of allegiance; and if they be constant to their own doctrine, do account his Majesty in their hearts to be King but at the Pope's discretion. In this state of this kingdom, to think the bridle of the army may be taken away, should be the thought not of a brain-sick, but of a brainless-man.

Your Lordship's in all duty,

WILLIAM KILMORE.'

'The day of our deliverance from the
Popish powder plot, Anno 1633.'

By his cutting off pluralities there fell to be many vacancies in his diocess, so the care he took to fill these, comes to be considered in the next place. He was very strict in his examinations before he gave orders to any. He went over the articles of the church of Ireland so particularly and exactly, that one who was present at the ordination of him that was afterward his arch-deacon, Mr. Thomas Price, reported that though he was one of the senior fellows of the college of Dublin, when the Bishop was provost; yet his examination held two full hours: and when he had ended any examination, which was always done in the presence of his clergy, he desired every clergyman that was present to examine the person further, if they thought that any material thing was omitted by him; by which a fuller discovery of his temper and sufficiency might be made. When all was ended, he made all his clergy give their approbation before he would proceed to ordination: for he would never assume that singly to himself, nor take the load of it wholly on his own soul. He took also great care to be well informed of the moral and religious qualities of those he ordained, as well as he satisfied himself by his examination of their capacity and knowledge. He had always a considerable number of his clergy assisting him at his ordinations, and he always preached and administered the sacrament on those occasions himself: and he never ordained one a presbyter, till he had been at least a year a deacon, that so he might have a good account of his behaviour in-

that lower degree, before he raised him higher. He looked upon that power of ordination as the most sacred part of a bishop's trust, and that in which the laws of the land had laid no sort of imposition on them, so that this was entirely in their hands, and therefore he thought they had so much the more to answer for to God on that account; and he weighed carefully in his thoughts the importance of those words, ' Lay hands suddenly on no man, and be not a partaker of other men's sins.' Therefore he used all the precaution that was possible for him in so important an affair. He was never prevailed on by any recommendations nor importunities to ordain any; as if orders had been a sort of freedom in a company, by which a man was to be enabled to hold as great a portion of the ecclesiastical revenue as he could compass, when he was thus qualified: nor would he ever ordain any without a title to a particular flock. For he thought a title to a maintenance was not enough; as if the church should only take care that none in orders might be in want; but he saw the abuses of those emendicated titles, and of the vagrant priests that went about as journeymen, plying for work, to the great reproach of that sacred employment; and in this he also followed the rule set by the fourth general council that carried this matter so high, as to annul all orders that were given without a particular designation of the place, where the person was to serve. For he made the primitive times his standard, and resolved to come as near it as he could, considering the corruption of the age in which he lived. He remembered well the grounds he went on, when he refused to pay fees for the title to his benefice in Suffolk, and therefore took care that those who were ordained by him, or had titles to benefices from him, might be put to no charge: for he wrote all the instruments himself, and delivered them to the persons to whom they belonged, out of his own hands, and adjured them in a very solemn manner, to give nothing to any of his servants. And, that he might hinder it all that was possible, he waited on them always on those occasions to the gate of his house, that so he might be sure that they should not

give any gratification to his servants. He thought it lay on him to pay them such convenient wages as became them, and not to let his clergy be burdened with his servants. And indeed the abuses in that were grown to such a pitch, that it was necessary to correct them in so exemplary a manner.

His next care was to observe the behaviour of his clergy; he knew the lives of churchmen had generally much more efficacy than their sermons, or other labours could have, and so he set himself much to watch over the manners of his priests; and was very sensibly touched, when an Irishman said once to him in open court, 'that the King's priests were as bad as the Pope's priests.' These were so grossly ignorant, and so openly scandalous, both for drunkenness, and all sort of lewdness, that this was indeed a very heavy reproach: yet he was no rude nor morose reformer, but considered what the times could bear. He had great tenderness for the weakness of his clergy, when he saw reason to think otherwise well of them; and he helped them out of their troubles, with the care and compassion of a father. One of his clergy held two livings, but had been cozened by a gentleman of quality to farm them to him for less than either of them was worth; and he acquainted the Bishop with this, who upon that writ very civilly, and yet as became a bishop, to the gentleman, persuading him to give up the bargain: but having received a sullen and haughty answer from him, he made the minister resign up both to him, for they belonged to his gift, and he provided him with another benefice, and put two other worthy men in these two churches, and so he put an end both to the gentleman's fraudulent bargain, and to the churchman's plurality. He never gave a benefice to any without obliging them by oath to perpetual and personal residence, and that they should never hold any other benefice with that. So when one Buchanan was recommended to him, and found by him to be well qualified, he offered him a collation to a benefice, but when Buchanan saw that he was to be bound to residence, and not to hold another benefice, he that was already possessed of one, with which he resolved not to part,

would not accept of it on those terms. And the Bishop was not to be prevailed with to dispense with it, though he liked this man so much the better, because he found he was a kin to the great Buchanan, whose paraphrase of the Psalms he loved beyond all other Latin poetry. The Latin form of his collations will be found at the end of this relation, which concluded thus: * ‘Obtesting you in the Lord, and enjoining you, by virtue of that obedience which you owe to the great Shepherd, that you will diligently feed his flock committed to your care, which he purchased with his own blood; that you instruct them in the Catholic faith, and perform divine offices in a tongue understood by the people: and above all things that you shew yourself a pattern to believers in good works, so that the adversaries may be put to shame, when they find nothing for which they can reproach you.’ He put all the instruments in one, whereas devices had been found out, for the increase of fees, to divide these into several writings: nor was he content to write this all with his own hand, but sometimes he gave induction likewise to his clergy, for he thought none of these offices were below a bishop, and he was ready to ease them of charge all he could. He had by his zeal and earnest endeavours prevailed with all his presbyters to reside in their parishes, one only excepted, whose name was Johnston. He was of a mean education, yet he had very quick parts, but they lay more to the mechanical than to the spiritual architecture. For the Earl of Strafford used him for an engineer, and gave him the management of some great buildings that he was raising in the county of Wicklow. But the Bishop finding the man had a very mercurial wit, and a great capacity, he resolved to set him to work, that so he might not be wholly useless to the church; and therefore he proposed to him the composing an universal character, that might be equally well understood by all nations: and he shewed him, that since there was already an universal mathematical character, received both for arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, the other was not impossible to be done. Johnston undertook it

* See at the end, No. 1.

readily, and the Bishop drew for him a scheme of the whole work, which he brought to such perfection, that, as my author was informed, he put it under the press, but the rebellion prevented his finishing it.

After the Bishop had been for many years carrying on the reformation of his diocess, he resolved to hold a synod of all his clergy, and to establish some rules for the better government of the flock committed to him: the canons then established will be found at the end of this work.* He appointed that a synod should be held thereafter once a year, on the second week of September; and that in the Bishop's absence, his Vicar General, if he were a priest, or his Archdeacon should preside: that no vicar should be constituted after that, unless he were in orders, and should hold his place only during the Bishop's pleasure. He revived the ancient custom of rural deans, and appointed, that there should be three for the three divisions of his diocess, who should be chosen by the clergy, and should have an inspection into their deportment, and make report to the Bishop of what passed among them, and transmit the Bishop's orders to them; and that once a month the clergy of each division should meet, and preach by turns, without long prayers or preambles: and that no excommunication should be made but by the Bishop in person, with the assistance of such of his clergy as should be present. The rest related to some things of less importance, that required amendment. When the news of this was carried to Dublin, some said it was an illegal assembly, and that his presuming to make canons, was against law, and brought him within the guilt of a *præmunire*. So that it was expected that he should be brought up as a delinquent, and censured in the Star Chamber, or High Commission Court: but others looked on what he had done, as nothing but the necessary discharge of his episcopal function. And it seemed strange if some rules laid down by common consent, for the better government of the diocess, should have furnished matter for an accusation or censure. His Archdeacon, that was afterward Archbishop of Cashel, gave such an account of this matter to the

* See at the end, No. 2.

state, that nothing followed upon it. The Bishop had indeed prepared such a justification of himself, as would have vindicated him fully before equitable judges, if he had been questioned for it. Archbishop Usher, who knew well how much he could say for himself upon this head, advised those that moved that he might be brought up upon it, to let him alone, lest he should be thereby provoked to say more for himself, than any of his accusers could say against him.

When he made his visitations, he always preached himself, and administered the sacrament; and the business of his visitations was, what it ought truly to be, to observe the state of his diocess, and to give good instructions both to clergy and laity. The visitations in Ireland had been matters of great pomp and much luxury, which lay heavy on the inferior clergy. Some slight inquiries were made, and those chiefly for form's sake; and indeed nothing was so much minded, as that which was the reproach of them, the fees, that were exacted to such an intolerable degree, that they were a heavy grievance to the clergy. And as the Bishop's visitation came about every year; so every third year the Archbishop made his metropolitical visitation, and every seventh year the King's visitation went round: and in all these, as they were then managed, nothing seemed to be so much aimed at, as how to squeeze and oppress the clergy, who were glad to purchase their peace by paying all that was imposed on them, by those severe exactors. These fees at visitations were not known in the primitive times, in which the Bishop had the whole stock of the church in his hands to defray what expense necessarily fell on him, or his church. It is true, when the metropolitan, with other bishops, came and ordained the bishop at his see, it was but reasonable that their expense should be discharged; and this came to be rated to a certain sum, and was called the *in thronistic*: and when these grew unreasonably high, the emperors reduced them to a certain proportion, according to the revenues of the sees. But when the bishops and the inferior clergy came to have distinct properties, then the bishops exacted of their clergy that which other vassals owed by their tenure to the lord of the

fee, which was the bearing the expense of their progress; but when they began first to demand those subsidies from their clergy, that practice was condemned, and provision was made, that in case a bishop was so poor that he could not bear the charge to which his visitation put him, he should be supplied by the richer bishops about him; but not prey upon his clergy. And both Charles the Great, and his son Lewis took care to see this executed: yet this abuse was still kept up, so that afterward, instead of putting it quite down, it was only regulated, so that it might not exceed such a proportion; but that was not observed: so that an arbitrary tax was in many places levied upon the clergy. But our Bishop reformed all these excesses, and took nothing but what was by law and custom established, and that was employed in entertaining the clergy: and when there was any overplus, he sent it always to the prisons, for the relief of the poor. At his visitation he made his clergy sit all with him, and be covered, whenever he himself was covered. For he did not approve of the state, in which others of his order made their visitations; nor the distance to which they obliged their clergy. And he had that canon often in his mouth, 'That a presbyter ought not to be let stand after the bishop was set.' He was much troubled at another abuse which was, that when the metropolitical and regal visitations went round, a writ was served on the bishops, suspending their jurisdiction for that year: and when this was first brought to him, he received it with great indignation, which was increased by two clauses in the writ: by the one it was asserted, 'That in the year of the metropolitan's visitation, the whole and entire jurisdiction of the diocess belonged to him;' the other was the reason given for it, 'Because of the great danger of the souls of the people:' whereas the danger of souls rise from that suspension of the bishop's pastoral power, since during that year he either could not do the duty of a bishop, or if he would exercise it, he must either purchase a delegation to act as the archbishop's deputy, and that could not be had without paying for it, or be liable to a suit in the Pre-rogative Court.

He knew the archbishop's power over bishops was not founded on divine, or apostolical right, but on ecclesiastical canons and practice, and that it was only a matter of order, and that therefore the archbishop had no authority to come and invade his pastoral office, and suspend him for a year. These were some of the worst of the abuses that the canonists had introduced in the latter ages; by which they had broken the episcopal authority, and had made way for vesting the whole power of the church in the Pope. He laid those things often before Archbishop Usher, and pressed him earnestly to set himself to the reforming them, since they were acted in his name, and by virtue of his authority deputed to his chancellor, and to the other officers of the court, called the Spiritual Court. No man was more sensible of those abuses than Usher was; no man knew the beginning and progress of them better, nor was more touched with the ill effects of them: and together with his great and vast learning, no man had a better soul and a more apostolical mind. In his conversation he expressed the true simplicity of a Christian: for passion, pride, self-will, or the love of the world, seemed not to be so much as in his nature. So that he had all the innocence of the dove in him. He had a way of gaining people's hearts, and of touching their consciences that looked like somewhat of the apostolical age revived; he spent much of his time in those two best exercises, secret prayer, and dealing with other people's consciences, either in his sermons or private discourses; and what remained he dedicated to his studies, in which those many volumes that came from him, shewed a most amazing diligence and exactness, joined with great judgment. So that he was certainly one of the greatest and best men that the age, or perhaps the world, has produced. But no man is entirely perfect; he was not made for the governing part of his function. He had too gentle a soul to manage that rough work of reforming abuses; and therefore he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of reformation would come. He saw the necessity of cutting off many abuses, and confessed that the tolerating those abominable corruptions that the canonists had brought

in, was such a stain upon a church, that in all other respects was the best reformed in the world, that he apprehended it would bring a curse and ruin upon the whole constitution. But though he prayed for a more favourable conjuncture, and would have concurred in a joint reformation of these things very heartily; yet he did not bestir himself suitably to the obligations that lay on him for carrying it on: and it is very likely that this sat heavy on his thoughts when he came to die; for he prayed often, and with great humility, that God would forgive him his sins of omission, and his failings in his duty. It was not without great uneasiness to me that I overcome myself so far, as to say any thing that may seem to diminish the character of so extraordinary a man, who in other things was beyond any man of his time, but in this only he fell beneath himself: and those that upon all other accounts loved and admired him, lamented this defect in him; which was the only allay that seemed left, and without which he would have been held, perhaps in more veneration than was fitting. His physician Dr. Bootius, that was a Dutchman, said truly of him, ‘If our Primate of Armagh were as exact a disciplinarian as he is eminent in searching antiquity, defending the truth, and preaching the Gospel, he might without doubt deserve to be made the chief churchman of Christendom.’ But this was necessary to be told, since history is to be writ impartially; and I ought to be forgiven for taxing his memory a little; for I was never so tempted in any thing that I ever writ, to disguise the truth, as upon this occasion: yet though Bishop Usher did not much himself, he had a singular esteem for that vigour of mind, which our Bishop expressed in the reforming these matters. And now I come to the next instance of his pastoral care, which made more noise, and met with more opposition than any of the former.

He found his court, that sat in his name, was an entire abuse: it was managed by a chancellor that had bought his place from his predecessor: and so thought he had a right to all the profits he could raise out of it, and the whole business of the court seemed to be nothing but extortion and oppression. For it is

an old observation that men who buy justice will also sell it. Bribes went about almost barefaced, and the exchange they made of penance for money was the worst sort of simony; being in effect the very same abuse that gave the world such a scandal when it was so indecently practised in the church of Rome, and opened the way to the Reformation. For the selling of indulgences is really but a commutation of penance. He found the officers of the court made it their business to draw people into trouble by vexatious suits, and to hold them so long in it, that for three pence worth of the tithe of turf, they would be put to five pounds charge. And the solemnest and sacredest of all the church censures, which was excommunication, went about in so sordid and base a manner, that all regard to it, as it was a spiritual censure, was lost, and the effects it had in law made it be cried out on as a most intolerable piece of tyranny. The officers of the court thought they had a sort of right to oppress the natives, and that all was well got that was wrung from them. And of all this the good Primate was so sensible, that he gives this sad account of the venality of all sacred things in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. ‘As for the general state of things here, they are so desperate, that I am afraid to write any thing thereof. Some of the adverse part have asked me the question, where I have heard or read before, that religion and men’s souls should be set to sale, after this manner? Unto whom I could reply nothing, but that I had read in Mantuan, that there was another place in the world, where

Cælum est venale, Deusque,

both heaven and God himself are set to sale.’—But our Bishop thought it not enough to lament this; he resolved to do what in him lay to correct these abuses, and to go and sit and judge in his own courts himself. He carried a competent number of his clergy with him, who sat about him, and there he heard causes, and by their advice he gave sentence. By this means so many causes were dismissed, and such a change was wrought in the whole proceedings of the court, that instead of

being any more a grievance to the country, none were now grieved by it but the Chancellor, and the other officers of the court, who saw their trade was sunk, and their profits were falling; and were already displeased with the Bishop, for writing the titles to benefices himself, taking that part of their gain out of their hands. Therefore the Lay Chancellor brought a suit against the Bishop into Chancery, for invading his office. The matter was now a common cause; the other bishops were glad at this step our bishop had made, and encouraged him to go on resolutely in it, and assured him they would stand by him; and they confessed they were but half bishops till they could recover their authority out of the hands of their chancellors. But on the other hand all the chancellors and registers of Ireland combined together; they saw this struck at those places which they had bought, valuing them according to the profits that they could make by them: and it cannot be denied but they had reason to move, that if their places were regulated, the money, by which they had purchased that right to squeeze the country, ought to have been restored. The Bishop desired that he might be suffered to plead his own cause himself, but that was denied him, which he took ill, but he drew the argument that his counsel made for him; for it being the first suit that ever was of that sort, he was more capable of composing his defence than his counsel could be.

He went upon these grounds, that one of the most essential parts of a bishop's duty was to govern his flock, and to inflict the spiritual censures on obstinate offenders; that a bishop could no more delegate this power to a lay-man, than he could delegate a power to baptize or ordain, since excommunication and other censures were a suspending the rights of baptism and orders; and therefore the judging of these things could only belong to him that had the power to give them; and that the delegating that power was a thing null of itself. He shewed, that feeding the flock was inherent and inseparable from a bishop, and that no delegation he could make, could take that power from himself; since all the effect it could have, was to make

another his officer and deputy in his absence. From this he went to shew how it had been ever looked on as a necessary part of the bishop's duty, to examine and censure the scandals of his clergy and laity in ancient and modern times ; that the Roman emperors had by many laws supported the credit and authority of these courts, that since the practices of the court of Rome had brought in such a variety of rules, for covering the corruptions which they intended to support ; then that which is in itself a plain and simple thing was made very intricate : so that the canon law was become a great study ; and upon this account bishops had taken civilians and canonists to be their assistants in those courts : but this could be for no other end but only to inform them in points of law, or to hear and prepare matters for them. For the giving sentence, as it is done in the bishop's name, so it is really his office ; and is that for which he is accountable both to God and man ; and since the law made those to be the bishop's courts, and since the King had by patent confirmed that authority, which was lodged in him by his office of governing those courts, he thought all delegations that were absolute and exclusive of the bishop, ought to be declared void. The reader will perhaps judge better of the force of this argument, than the Lord Chancellor of Ireland Bolton did, who confirmed the Chancellor's right, and gave him a hundred pounds cost of the Bishop. But when the Bishop asked him, how he came to make so unjust a decree ? he answered, that all that his father had left him was a register's place ; so he thought he was bound to support those courts, which he saw would be ruined, if the way he took had not been checked. This my author had from the Bishop's own mouth.

But as this matter was a leading case, so great pains were taken to possess the Primate against the Bishop ; but his letters will best discover the grounds on which he went, and that noble temper of mind that supported him in so great an undertaking. The one is long, but I will not shorten it.

' Right Reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

' I have received your Grace's letters concerning Mr. Cooke, and I do acknowledge all that your Grace writes to be true concerning his sufficiency and experience to the execution of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; neither did I forbear to do him right in giving him that testimony, when before the Chapter I did declare and shew the nullity of his patent. I have heard of my Lord of —— attempt, and I do believe, that if this patent had due form, I could not overthrow it; how unequal soever it be. But failing in the essential parts, besides sundry other defects, I do not think any reasonable creature can adjudge it to be good. I shall more at large certify your Grace of the whole matter, and the reasons of my counsel herein. I shall desire herein to be tried by your Grace's own judgment, and not by your chancellor's; or (as I think in such a case I ought to be) by the synod of the province. I have resolved to see the end of this matter; and do desire your Grace's favour herein no farther than the equity of the cause and the good, as far as I can judge, of our church in a high degree do require. So with my humble service to your Grace, and respectful commendations to Mrs. Usher, I rest

Your Grace's, in all duty,

WILL. KILMORE.'

' Kilmore, October 28, 1629.'

' Most Reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

' The report of your Grace's indisposition, how sorrowful it was to me, the Lord knows. Albeit the same was somewhat mitigated by other news of your better estate. In that fluctuation of my mind (perhaps like that of your health) the saying of the apostle served me for an anchor. "That none of us liveth to himself, neither doth any die to himself. For whether we live, we live to the Lord; or whether we die, we die to the Lord. Whether we live therefore or die we are the Lord's." Thereupon from the bottom of my heart commending your estate, and that of the church here (which how much it needs you, he knows best), to our common Master, though I had written large letters to

you, which have lain by me sundry weeks, fearing in your sickness to be troublesome; I thought not to send them, but to attend to some other opportunity after your present recovery to send, or perhaps bring them. When I understood by Mr. Dean of his journey, or at least sending an express messenger to you with other letters, putting me also in mind, that perhaps it would not be unwelcome to you to hear from me, though you forbear to answer. I yielded to the example and condition; so much the rather, because I remembered myself a debtor to your Grace by my promise of writing to you more fully touching the reasons of my difference with Mr. Cooke; and now a suiter in your court at his instance.

‘And, first, I beseech your Grace, let it be a matter merely of merriment, that I skirmish a little with your court touching the inhibition and citation which thence proceeded against me, as you shall perceive by the inclosed recusation. For the thing itself, as I have written, I do submit it wholly to your Grace’s decision. And to enlarge myself a little, not as to a judge, but a father, to whom, besides the bond of your undeserved love, I am bound also by an oath of God; I will pour out my heart unto you, even without craving pardon of my boldness. It will be perhaps some little diversion of your thoughts from your own infirmity, to understand that you suffer not alone, but you in body, others otherwise; each must bear his cross, and follow the steps of our high Master. My Lord, since it pleased God to call me to this place in this church, what my intentions have been to the discharge of my duty, he best knows. But I have met with many impediments and discouragements; and chiefly from them of mine own profession in religion. Concerning Mr. Hoile, I acquainted your Grace: Sir Edward Bagshaw, Sir Francis Hamilton, Mr. William Flemming, and divers more have been, and yet are, pulling from the rights of my church. But all these have been light in respect of the dealing of some others, professing me kindness, by whom I have been blazed a papist, an armynian, a neuter, a politician, an equivocator, a niggardly housekeeper, a usurer: that I bow at the name of Jesus, pray to the east, would pull down the seat of

my predecessor to set up an altar, denying burial in the chancel to one of his daughters: and to make up all, that I compared your Grace's preaching to one Mr. Whiskins, Mr. Creighton, and Mr. Baxter's; and preferred them: that you found yourself deceived in me. These things have been reported at Dublin, and some of the best affected of mine own diocess (as hath been told me) induced hereby to bewail with tears the misery of the church; some of the clergy also, as it was said, looking about how they might remove themselves out of this country. Of all this I heard but little, till Mr. Price, coming from Dublin before Christmas to be ordered deacon, having for his memory set down twelve articles, among a number of points more, required satisfaction of me concerning them. Which I endeavoured to give both to him, and to them of the ministry, that met at our chapter for the examination of Mr. Cooke's patent. Omitting all the rest; yet because this venom hath spread itself so far, I cannot but touch the last, touching the preferring others to your Grace's preaching. To which Mr. Price's answer was, as he told me, I will be quartered if this be true. Thus it was, Mr. Dunsterville acquainted me with his purpose to preach out of Prov. xx. 6. "But a faithful man who can find;" where he said, the doctrine he meant to raise was this, that faith is a rare gift of God. I told him I thought he mistook the meaning of the text, and wished him to choose longer texts, and not bring his discourses to a word or two of Scripture; but rather to declare those of the Holy Ghost. He said your Grace did so sometimes. I answered there might be just cause, but I thought you did not so ordinarily. As for those men, Mr. Whiskins, and the rest, I never heard any of them preach to this day. Peradventure, their manner is to take longer texts; whereupon the comparison is made up, as if I preferred them before you. This slander did not much trouble me. I know your Grace will not think me such a fool (if I had no fear of God) to prefer before your excellent gifts, men that I never heard. But look as the French proverb is, "He that is disposed to kill his dog, tells men that he is mad:"

and whom men have once wronged, unless the grace of God be the more, they ever hate. Concerning the wrongs which these people have offered me, I shall take another fit time to inform your Grace. Where they say, your Grace doth find yourself deceived in me, I think it may be the truest word they said yet. For indeed I do think both you and many more are deceived in me, accounting me to have some honesty, discretion, and grace, more than you will by proof find. But if, as it seems to me, that form hath this meaning that they pretend to have undeceived you, I hope they are deceived; yea I hope they shall be deceived, if by such courses as these they think to unsettle me; and the devil himself also, if he think to dismay me.

‘ I will go on in the strength of the Lord God, and remember his righteousness, even his alone, as by that reverend and good father my Lord of Canterbury, when I first came over, I was exhorted, and have obtained help of God to do to this day.

‘ But had I not work enough before, but I must bring Mr. Cooke upon my top? One that for his experience, purse, friends, in a case already adjudged, wherein he is engaged, not only for his profit, but reputation also, will easily no doubt overbear me. How much better to study to be quiet, and to do mine own business; or, as I think, Staupitius was wont to bid Luther, go into my study and pray. My Lord, all these things came to my mind, and at the first I came with a resolution to take heed to myself, and, if I could, to teach others moderation and forbearance by mine own example. But I could not be quiet, nor without pity hear the complaints of those that resorted to me, some of them of mine own neighbours and tenants, called into the court, commonly by information of apparitors, holden there without just cause, and not dismissed without excessive fees, as they exclaimed. Lastly, one Mr. Mayot, a minister of the diocess of Ardagh, made a complaint to me, that he was excommunicated by Mr. Cooke, notwithstanding, as I heard also by others, the correction of ministers was excepted out of his patent. Whereupon I desired to see

the patent, and to have a copy of it, that I might know how to govern myself. He said Mr. Aske, being then from home, should bring it to me at his return. Himself went to Dublin to the term. At the first view I saw it was a formless chaos of authority, conferred upon him against all reason and equity. I had not long after, occasion to call the chapter together at the time of ordination. I shewed the original, being brought forth by Mr. Aske, desired to know if that were the chapter seal, and these their hands; they acknowledged their hands and seal, and said they were less careful in passing it, because they accounted it did rather concern my predecessor than them. I shewed the false Latin, nonsense, injustice of it, prejudice to them, contrariety to itself, and the King's grant to me. I shewed there were in one period above five hundred words, and, which passed the rest, hanging in the air without any principal verb. I desired them to consider if the seal hanging to it were the Bishop's seal; they acknowledged it was not. Therefore with protestation, that I meant no way to call in question the sufficiency of Mr. Cooke or his former acts, I did judge the patent to be void, and so declared it; inhibiting Mr. Cooke to do any thing by virtue thereof, and them to assist him therein. This is the true history of this business howsoever Mr. Cooke disguise it. I suspend him not absent, and *indicta causa*; it was his commission, which was present, that I viewed, which, with the chapter, I censured; which if he can make good, he shall have leave, and time, and place enough.

‘ And now to accomplish my promise, to relate to your Grace my purpose herein. My Lord, I do thus account, that to any work or enterprise, to remove impediments is a great part of the performance. And amongst all the impediments to the work of God amongst us, there is not any one greater, than the abuse of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This is not only the opinion of the most godly, judicious, and learned men that I have known; but the cause of it is plain. The people pierce not into the inward and true reasons of things; they are sensible in the purse. And that

religion that makes men that profess it, and shews them to be despisers of the world, and so far from encroaching upon others in matter of base gain, as rather to part with their own, they magnify. This bred the admiration of the primitive Christians, and after of the Monks. Contrary causes must needs produce contrary effects. Wherefore let us preach never so painfully, and piously: I say more, let us live never so blamelessly ourselves, so long as the officers in our courts prey upon them, they esteem us no better than publicans and worldlings; and so much the more deservedly, because we are called spiritual men, and call ourselves reformed Christians. And if the honestest and best of our own Protestants be thus scandalized, what may we think of Papists, such as are all, in a manner, that we live among? The time was when I hoped the church of Ireland was free from this abuse, at least freer than her sister of England: but I find I am deceived; whether it be that distance of place, and being further out of the reach of the sceptre of justice, breeds more boldness to offend, or necessarily brings more delay of redress. I have been wont also in Ireland, to except one court (as he doth Plato), but trust me, my Lord, I have heard that it is said among great personages here, that my Lord Primate is a good man; but his court is as corrupt as others. Some say worse, and which, I confess to your Grace, did not a little terrify me from visiting till I might see how to do it with fruit, that of your late visitation they see no profit, but the taking of money.

‘ But to come to Mr. Cooke, of all that have exercised jurisdiction in this land these late years, he is the most noted man, and most cried out upon. Inso-much as he hath found from the Irish, the nickname of Pouc: albeit he came off with credit when he was questioned, and justified himself by the table of fees (as by a leaden rule any stone may be approved as well as hewed). By that little I met with since I came hither, I am induced to believe, it was not for lack of matter, but there was some other course of his escaping in that trial. By this pretended commission, and that table of fees, he hath taken in my predeces-

sor's time, and seeks to take in mine for *exhibits* at visitations, and his charges there above the Bishop's procurations, for unions, sequestrations, relaxations, certificates, licences, permutations of penance, sentences (as our court calls them) interlocutory in causes of corrections, such fees as I cannot in my conscience think to be just. And yet he doth it in my name, and tells me I cannot call him into question for it. Alas, my Lord! if this be the condition of a bishop, that he standeth for a cipher, and only to uphold the wrongs of other men, what do I in this place? Am I not bound by my profession made to God in your presence, and following your words, to be gentle and merciful for Christ's sake to poor and needy people, and such as be destitute of help? Can I be excused another day, with this, that thus it was ere I came to this place, and that it is not good to be over just? Or, sith I am persuaded Mr. Cooke's patent is unjust and void, am I not bound to make it so? and to regulate, if I may, this matter of fees, and the rest of the disorders of the jurisdiction, which his Majesty hath intrusted me withal? Your Grace saith, truly it is a difficult thing, if not impossible, to overthrow a patent so confirmed; and I know in deliberations it is one of the most important considerations, what we may hope to effect. But how can I tell till I have tried: to be discouraged ere I begin, is it not to consult with flesh and blood? Verily I think so. And therefore must put it to the trial, and leave the success to God. If I obtain the cause, the profit shall be to this poor nation; if not, I shall shew my consent to those my reverend brethren that have endeavoured to redress this enormity before me; I shall have the testimony of mine own conscience, to have sought to discharge my duty to God and his people. Yea, which is the main, the work of my ministry and service to this nation, shall receive furtherance howsoever rather than any hinderance thereby. And if by the continuance of such oppressions any thing fall out otherwise than well, I shall have acquitted myself towards his Majesty, and those that have engaged themselves for me. At last I shall have the better reason and juster cause to

resign to his Majesty the jurisdiction which I am not permitted to manage. And here I beseech your Grace, to consider seriously whether it were not happy for us to be rid of this charge, which not being proper to our calling, is not possible to be executed without such deputies, as subject us to the ill conceit of their unjust or indiscreet carriage, and no way further our own work? Or, if it shall be thought fit to carry this load still, whether we ought not to procure some way to be discharged of the envy of it, and redress the abuse, with the greatest strictness we can devise? For my part I cannot bethink me of any course fitter for the present, than to keep the courts myself, and set some good order in them. And to this purpose I have been at Cavan, Belturbet, Granard, and Longford, and do intend to go to the rest, leaving with some of the ministry there, a few rules touching those things that are to be redressed, that if my health doth not permit me to be always present, they may know how to proceed in my absence. I find it to be true that Tullysaith, "*Justitia mirifica quædam res multitudini;*" and certainly to our proper work a great advantage it is to obtain a good opinion of those we are to deal with. But besides this there fall out occasions to speak of God and his presence, of the religion of a witness, the danger of an oath, the purity of a marriage, the preciousness of a good name, repairing of churches, and the like. Penance itself may be enjoined, and penitents reconciled, with some profit to others besides themselves.

' Wherefore, albeit Mr. Cooke were the justest chancellor in this kingdom, I would think it fit for me, as things now stand, to sit in these courts; and the rather sith I cannot be heard in the pulpits to preach as I may in them: albeit innocency and justice is also a real kind of preaching. I have shewed your Grace my intentions in this matter. Now should I require your direction in many things, if I were present with you. But for the present it may please you to understand, that at Granard one Mr. Nugent, a nephew as I take it to my Lord of Westmeath, delivered his letter to Mr. Aske, which he delivered me in open court, requiring that his tenant might not be troubled

for christenings, marriages, or funerals, so they pay the minister his due. This referred to a letter of my Lord Chancellor's to the like purpose, which yet was not delivered till the court was risen. I answered generally, that none of my Lord's tenants or others should be wronged. The like motion was made at Longford, by two or three of the Farrals, and one Mr. Fagarah, and Mr. Rosse, to whom I gave the like answer, and added, that I would be strict in requiring them to bring their children to be baptized, and marriages to be solemnized likewise with us, sith they acknowledged these to be lawful and true; so as it was but wilfulness if any forbear. Here I desire your Grace to direct me. For to give way that they should not be so much as called in question, seems to further the schism they labour to make. To lay any pecuniary mulct upon them, as the value of a licence for marriage, three pence or four pence for a christening, I know not by what law it can be done. To excommunicate them for not appearing or obeying, they being already none of our body, and a multitude, it is to no profit, nay rather makes the exacerbation worse.

‘Many things more I have to confer with your Grace about, which I hope to do *coram*⁶; as about the re-edifying of churches, or employing the mass-houses (which now the state inquires of), about books, Testaments, and the Common-Prayer Book, which being to be reprinted would perhaps be in some things bettered: but especially about men to use them; and means to maintain them, now that our English have engrossed the livings. About the printing the Psalter, which I have caused to be diligently surveyed by Mr. James Nangle, who adviseth not to meddle with the verse, but set forth only the prose; which he hath begun to write out fair to the press. Mr. Murtagh King I have not heard of a long time; I hope he goeth on in the historical books of the Old Testament. Mr. Crian was with me about a fortnight after I came to Kilmore; since I heard not of him. Of all these things, if by the will of God, I may make a journey over to you, we shall speak at full.

‘As I was closing up these, this morning, there is

a complaint brought me from Ardagh, that where in a cause matrimonial in the court at Longford, a woman had proceeded thus far, as after contestation, the husband was enjoined to appear the next court, to receive a libel; one Shaw-oge, Mr. Ingawry, the popish vicar-general of Ardagh, had excommunicated her, and she was by one Hubart, and Mr. Calril, a priest, upon Sunday last, put out of the church and denounced excommunicate. Herein, whether it were more fit to proceed against the vicar and priest by virtue of the last letters from the council, or complain to them, I shall attend your Grace's advice. And now for very shame ceasing to be troublesome, I do recommend your Grace to the protection of our merciful Father, and rest, with my respective salutations to Mrs. Usher,

Your Grace's, in all duty,

WILL. KILMORE & ARDAGHEN.'

' Kilmore, Feb. 15, 1629.'

The other Bishops did not stand by our Bishop in this matter; but were contented to let him fall under censure, without interposing in it as in a cause of common concern: even the excellent Primate told him, the tide went so high that he could assist him no more; for he stood by him longer than any other of the order had done. But the Bishop was not disheartened by this. And as he thanked him for assisting him so long, so he said he was resolved by the help of God, to try if he could stand by himself. But he went home, and resolved to go on in his courts as he had begun, notwithstanding this censure. For he thought he was doing that which was incumbent on him, and he had a spirit so made, that he resolved to suffer martyrdom, rather than fail in any thing that lay on his conscience. But his chancellor was either advised by those that governed the state, to give him no disturbance in that matter; or was overcome by the authority he saw in him, that inspired all people with reverence for him: for as he never called for the hundred pound costs, so he never disturbed him any more, but named a surrogate, to whom he gave order to be in all things observant of the Bishop, and obedient to him: so it seems, that though it was thought fit to keep up the autho-

rity of the lay-chancellors over Ireland, and not to suffer this Bishop's practice to pass into a precedent; yet order was given underhand to let him go on as he had begun; and his chancellor had so great a value for him, that many years after this, he told my author, that he thought there was not such a man on the face of the earth as Bishop Bedell was; that he was too hard for all the civilians in Ireland, and that if he had not been borne down by mere force, he had overthrown the consistorial courts, and had recovered the episcopal jurisdiction out of the chancellor's hands. But now that he went on undisturbed in his episcopal court, he made use of it as became him, and not as an engine to raise his power and dominion; but considering that all church power was for edification, and not for destruction, he both dispensed that justice that belonged to his courts equally and speedily, and cut off many fees and much expense, which made them be formerly so odious; and also when scandalous persons were brought before him to be censured, he considered that church censures ought not to be like the acts of tyrants, that punish out of revenge, but like the discipline of parents, that correct in order to the amendment of their children: so he studied chiefly to beget in all offenders a true sense of their sins. Many of the Irish priests were brought oft into his courts for their lewdness; and upon that he took occasion with great mildness, and without scoffing, or insultings, to make them sensible of that tyrannical imposition in their church, in denying their priests leave to marry, which occasioned so much impurity among them; and this had a good effect on some.

This leads me to another part of his character, that must represent the care he took of the natives; he observed with much regret that the English had all along neglected the Irish, as a nation not only conquered but undisciplinable; and that the clergy had scarce considered them as a part of their charge, but had left them wholly into the hands of their own priests, without taking any other care of them, but the making them pay their tithes. And indeed their priests were a strange sort of people, that knew generally nothing

but the reading their offices, which were not so much as understood by many of them; and they taught the people nothing but the saying their Paters and Aves in Latin. So that the state both of the clergy and laity was such, that it could not but raise great compassion in a man that had so tender a sense of the value of those souls that Christ had purchased with his blood: therefore he resolved to set about that apostolical work of converting the natives with the zeal and care that so great understanding required. He knew the gaining on some of the more knowing of their priests was like to be the quickest way; for by their means he hoped to spread the knowledge of the reformed religion among the natives; or rather of the Christian religion, to speak more strictly. For they had no sort of notion of Christianity, but only knew that they were to depend upon their priests, and were to confess such of their actions, as they call sins, to them; and were to pay them tithes. The Bishop prevailed on several priests to change, and he was so well satisfied with the truth of their conversion, that he provided some of them to ecclesiastical benefices: which was thought a strange thing, and was censured by many, as contrary to the interest of the English nation. For it was believed that all those Irish converts were still Papists at heart, and might be so much the more dangerous, than otherwise, by that disguise which they had put on. But he on the other hand considered chiefly the duty of a Christian bishop: he also thought the true interest of England was to gain the Irish to the knowledge of religion, and to bring them by the means of that which only turns the heart to love the English nation: and so he judged the wisdom of that course was apparent, as well as the piety of it. Since such as changed their religion would become thereby so odious to their own clergy, that this would provoke them to further degrees of zeal in gaining others to come over after them: and he took great care to work in those whom he trusted with the care of souls, a full conviction of the truth of religion, and a deep sense of the importance of it. And in this he was so happy, that of all the converts that he had

raised to benefices, that there was but one only that fell back, when the rebellion broke out; and he not only apostatized, but both plundered and killed the English among the first. But no wonder if one murderer was among our Bishop's converts, since there was a traitor among the twelve that followed our Saviour. There was a convent of friars very near him, on whom he took much pains, with very good success: that he might furnish his converts with the means of instructing others, he made a short catechism to be printed in one sheet, being English on the one page, and Irish on the other, which contained the elements, and most necessary things of the Christian religion, together with some forms of prayer, and some of the most instructing and edifying passages of Scripture: this he sent about all over his diocese; and it was received with great joy by many of the Irish, who seemed to be hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and received this beginning of knowledge so well, that it gave a good encouragement to hope well upon further endeavours.

The Bishop did also set himself to learn the Irish tongue; and though it was too late for a man of his years to learn to speak it, yet he came to understand it to such a degree, as to compose a complete grammar of it (which was the first that ever was made, as I have been told), and to be a critic in it: he also had common prayer read in Irish every Sunday in his cathedral for the benefit of the converts he had made, and was always present at it himself, and he engaged all his clergy to set up schools in their parishes; for there were so very few bred to read or write, that this obstructed the conversion of the nation very much. The New Testament and the book of Common Prayer were already put in the Irish tongue; but he resolved to have the whole Bible, the Old Testament as well as the New, put also into the hands of the Irish; and therefore he laboured much to find out one that understood the language so well that he might be employed in so sacred a work: and by the advice of the Primate, and several other eminent persons, he pitched on one King, that had been converted many years before, and

was believed to be the elegantest writer of the Irish tongue then alive, both for prose and poetry. He was then about seventy, but notwithstanding his age and the disadvantages of his education, yet the Bishop thought him not only capable of this employment, but qualified for a higher character; therefore he put him in orders, and gave him a benefice in his diocess, and set him to work, in order to the translating the Bible, which he was to do from the English translation, since there were none of the nation to be found that knew any thing of the originals. The Bishop set himself so much to the revising this work, that always after dinner or supper he read over a chapter; and as he compared the Irish translation with the English, so he compared the English with the Hebrew and the Seventy Interpreters, or with Diodati's Italian translation, which he valued highly; and he corrected the Irish where he found the English translators had failed. He thought the use of the Scriptures was the only way to let the knowledge of religion in among the Irish, as it had first let the reformation into the other parts of Europe: and he used to tell a passage of a sermon that he heard Fulgentio preach at Venice, with which he was much pleased: it was on these words of Christ, 'Have ye not read;' and so he took occasion to tell the auditory, that if Christ were now to ask this question, 'Have ye not read?' all the answer they could make to it, was, 'No, for they were not suffered to do it.' Upon which he taxed with great zeal the restraint put on the use of the Scriptures, by the see of Rome. This was not unlike what the same person delivered in another sermon preaching upon Pilate's question, 'What is truth?' he told them that at last after many searches he had found it out, and held out a New Testament, and said, 'There it was in his hand,' but then he put it in his pocket, and said coldly, 'but the book is prohibited;' which was so suited to the Italian genius, that it took mightily with the auditory. The Bishop had observed that in the primitive times, as soon nations, how barbarous soever they were, began to receive the Christian religion, they had the Scriptures translated into their vulgar tongues; and that all peo-

ple were exhorted to study them; therefore he not only undertook and began this work, but followed it with so much industry, that in a very few years he finished the translation, and resolved to set about the printing of it, for the bargain was made with one that engaged to perform it. And as he had been at the great trouble of examining the translation, so he resolved to run the venture of the impression, and took that expense upon himself. It is scarce to be imagined what could have obstructed so great and so good a work. The priests of the church of Rome had reason to oppose the printing of a book, that has been always so fatal to them; but it was a deep fetch to possess reformed divines with a jealousy of this work, and with hard thoughts concerning it; yet that was done, but by a very well disguised method: for it was said, that the translator was a weak and contemptible man, and that it would expose such a work, as this was, to the scorn of the nation, when it was known who was the author of it: and this was infused both into the Earl of Strafford, and into the Archbishop of Canterbury: and a bold young man pretended a lapse of the benefice that the Bishop had given to the translator, and so obtained a broad seal for it, though it was in the Bishop's gift. This was an abuse too common at that time, for licentious clerks to pretend either that an incumbent was dead, or that he had no good right to his benefice, or that he had forfeited it; and upon that to procure a grant of it from the King, and then to turn the incumbent out of possession, and to vex him with a suit till they forced him to compound for his peace. So upon this occasion it was pretended that the translator had forfeited his living; and one Bailly that had informed against him, came down with a grant of it under the great seal, and violently thrust him out of it. The Bishop was much touched with this, and cited Bailly to appear before him. He had given him a vicarage, and had taken an oath of him never to hold another; so he objected to him both his violent and unjust intrusion into another man's right, and his perjury. Bailly, to cover himself from the last, procured a dispensation from the Prerogative Court, notwithstanding his oath,

to hold more benefices. The Bishop looked on this as one of the worst and most scandalous parts of Popery, to dissolve the most sacred of all bonds; and it grieved his soul to see so vile a thing acted in the name of Archbishop Usher, though it was done by his surrogates: so without any regard to this, he served this obstinate clerk with several canonical admonitions: but finding him still hardened in his wickedness, he deprived him of the benefice he had given him, and also excommunicated him, and gave orders that the sentence should be published through the whole deanery: upon which, Baily's clerk appealed to the Prerogative Court, and the Bishop was cited to answer for what he had done. He went and appeared before them, but declined their authority, and would not answer to them. He thought it below the office and dignity of a bishop to give an account of a spiritual censure, that he had inflicted on one of his clergy, before two laymen that pretended to be the Primate's surrogates, and he put his declinator in twenty-four articles, all written with his own hand, which will be found at the end of this narrative:* he excepted to the incompetency of the court, both because the Primate was not there in person, and because they that sat there had given clear evidences of their partiality, which he had offered to prove to the Primate himself. He said the appeal from his sentence lay only to the Provincial Synod, or to the Archbishop's Consistory; and since the ground of Baily's appeal, was the dispensation that they had given him from his oath, they could not be the competent judges of that, for they were parties: and the appeal from abusive faculties lay only to a court of delegates by the express words of the law: and by many indications it appeared, that they had prejudged the matter in Baily's favours, and had expressed great resentments against the Bishop; and notwithstanding the dignity of his office, they had made him wait among the crowd an hour and an half, and had given directions in the management of the causes as parties against him; they had also manifestly abused their power in granting dispensations contrary to the laws of God: and now

* See at the end, No. 3.

they presumed to interpose in the just and legal jurisdiction that a bishop exercised over his clergy both by the laws of God and by the King's authority; upon these grounds he excepted to their authority; he was served with several citations to answer, and appeared upon every one of them: but notwithstanding the highest contempts they put upon him, he shewed no undecent passion, but kept his ground still. In conclusion, he was declared *Contumax*, and the perjured intruder was absolved from the sentence, and confirmed in the possession of his ill-acquired benefice. It may be easily imagined, how much these proceedings were censured by all fair and equitable men: the constancy, the firmness, and the courage that the Bishop expressed being as much commended, as the injustice and violence of his enemies was cried out upon. The strangest part of this transaction was, that which the Primate acted, who though he loved the Bishop beyond all the rest of the order, and valued him highly for the zealous discharge of his office, that distinguished him so much from others, yet he could not be prevailed on to interpose in this matter, nor to stop the unjust prosecution that this good man had fallen under, for so good a work: indeed it went further, for upon the endeavours he used to convert the Irish, and after he had refused to answer in the Archbishop's Court, it appears that he was in some measure alienated from him, which drew from the Bishop the following answer to a letter, that he had from him.

' Most Reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

' The superscription of your Grace's letters was most welcome unto me, as bringing under your own hand the best evidence of the recovery of your health, for which I did and do give hearty thanks unto God. For the contents of them, as your Grace conceived, they were not so pleasant. " But the words of a friend are faithful," saith the wise man: sure they are no less painful than any other. Unkindness cuts nearer to the heart than malice can do. I have some experience by your Grace's said letters, concerning which I have been at some debate with myself, whether I should

answer them with David's demand, "What have I now done?" or as the wrongs of parents, with patience and silence. But Mr. Dean telling me, that this day he is going towards you, I will speak once come of it what will.

' "You write that the course I took with the Papists, was generally cried out against, neither do you remember in all your life that any thing was done here by any of us, at which the professors of the gospel did take more offence, or by which the adversaries were more confirmed in their superstitions and idolatry; wherein you could wish that I had advised with my brethren before I would adventure to pull down that which they have been so long a building. Again, what I did, you know, was done out of a good intention; but you were assured that my project would be so quickly refuted with the present success and event, that there would be no need my friends should advise me from building such castles in the air, &c."

' My Lord, all this is a riddle to me. What course I have taken with the Papists; what I have done at which your professors of the gospel did take such offence, or the adversaries were so confirmed; what it is that I have adventured to do; or what piece so long a building, I have pulled down; what those projects were, and those castles in the air, so quickly refuted with present success, as the Lord knows, I know not. For truly since I came to this place I have not changed one jot of my purpose or practice, or course with Papists from that which I held in England, or in Trinity College, or found (I thank God) any ill success, but the slanders only of some persons discontented against me for other occasions. Against which I cannot hope to justify myself, if your Grace will give ear to private informations. But let me know, I will not say, my accuser (let him continue masked till God discover him), but my transgression, and have place of defence; and if mine adversary write a book against me, I will hope to bear it on my shoulder, and bind it to me as a crown.

' For my recusation of your court, and advertisement of what I heard thereof, I see they have stirred not

only laughter, but some coals too. Your chancellor desires me to acquit him to you, that he is none of those officers I meant; I do it very willingly: for I neither meant him nor any man else. But though it concerned your Grace to know what I credibly heard to be spoken concerning your court; neither, as God knows, did I ever think it was fit to take away the jurisdiction from chancellors, and put it into the Bishop's hands alone; or so much as in a dream condemn those that think they have reason to do otherwise, nor tax your Grace's visitation; nor imagine you would account that to pertain to your reproof, and take it as a wrong from me, which out of my duty to God and you, I thought was not to be concealed from you. I beseech you pardon me this one error, "*Si unquam post hac*——" For that knave whom (as your Grace writes) they say I did absolve; I took him for one of my flock, or rather Christ's, for whom he shed his blood. And I would have absolved Julian the apostate under the same form. Some other passages there be in your Grace's letters, which I, —— but I will lay mine hand upon my mouth, and craving the blessing of your prayers, ever remain,

Your Grace's poor brother,
and humble servant

WILL. KILMORE.'

'Kilmore, March 29, 1630.'

The malice of Mr. King's enemies was not satiated with the spoiling him of his benefice. For often it falls out, that those who have done acts of high injustice seek some excuse for what they have done, by new injuries, and a vexatious prosecution of the injured person, designing by the noise, that such repeated accusations might raise, to possess the world with an opinion of his guilt, which much clamour does often produce; and so crush the person so entirely that he may never again be in a capacity to recover himself, and to obtain his right, but be quite sunk by that vast increase of weight that is laid upon him. But I will give the reader a clearer view of this invidious affair from a letter which the Bishop writ concerning it to the Earl of Strafford.

' Right Honourable, my good Lord,

' That which I have sometimes done willingly, I do now necessarily, to make my address to your honour by writing. My unfitness for conversation heretofore hath pleaded for me, and now your Lordship's infirmity allows, and in a sort enforces it. The occasion is, not my love of contention (which I have committed to God) or any other matter of profit, but God's honour, and (as he is witness) yours. I have lately received letters from my Lord of Canterbury; whereby I perceive his Grace is informed that Mr. King, whom I employed to translate the Bible into Irish, is a man so ignorant that the translation cannot be worthy public use in the church, and besides, obnoxious, so as the church can receive no credit from any thing that is his. And his Grace adds, that he is so well acquainted with your Lordship's disposition, that he assures himself you would not have given away his living, had you not seen just cause for it. I account myself bound to satisfy his Grace herein, and desire, if I may be so happy, to do it by satisfying you. I do subscribe to his Grace's assured persuasion that your Lordship, had you not conceived Mr. King to be such as he writes, would not have given away his living. But, my Lord, the greatest, wisest, and justest men do, and must take many things upon the information of others; who themselves are men, and may sometimes out of weakness, or some other cause, be deceived. Touching Mr. King's silliness (which it concerns me the more to clear him of, that I be not accounted silly myself), I beseech your Lordship to take information, not by them which never saw him till yesterday, but by the ancient either churchmen or statesmen of this kingdom (in whose eyes he hath lived these many years) as are the Lord Primate, the Bishop of Meath, the Lord Dillon, Sir James Ware, and the like: I doubt not but your Lordship shall understand that there is no such danger that the translation should be unworthy, because he did it; being a man of that known sufficiency for the Irish especially, either in prose or verse, as few are his matches in the kingdom. And

shortly, not to argue by conjecture and divination, let the work itself speak, yea, let it be examined *rigoroso examine*; if it be found approvable, let it not suffer disgrace from the small boast of the workman, but let him rather (as old Sophocles accused of dotage) be absolved for the sufficiency of the work. Touching his being obnoxious, it is true there is a scandalous information put in against him in the High Commission Court, by his despoiler Mr. Baily (as my Lord of Derry told him in my hearing he was) and by an ex-communicate despoiler, as myself before the execution of any sentence, declared him in the court to be. And Mr. King being cited to answer, and not appearing (as by law he was not bound), was taken *pro confesso*, deprived of his ministry, and living, fined a hundred pound, decreed to be attached, and imprisoned. His adversary Mr. Baily, before he was sentenced, purchased a new dispensation to hold his benefice, and was the very next day after (as appears by the date of the institution) both presented in the King's title (although the benefice be of my collation) and instituted by my Lord Primate's vicar: shortly after inducted by an archdeacon of another diocess, and a few days after, he brought down an attachment, and delivered Mr. King to the pursuivant: he was haled by the head and feet to horseback; and brought to Dublin, where he hath been kept, and continued under arrest these four or five months: and hath not been suffered to purge his supposed contempt, by oath and witnesses, that by reason of his sickness he was hindered, whereby he was brought to death's door, and could not appear and prosecute his defence: and that by the cunning of his adversary he was circumvented, entreating that he might be restored to liberty, and his cause into the former estate. But it hath not availed him: my revered colleagues of the high-commission do some of them pity his case, others say the sentence past cannot be reversed, lest the credit of the court be attached. They bid him simply submit himself, and acknowledge his sentence just. Whereas the bishops of Rome themselves, after most formal proceedings, do grant restitution in *integrum*, and ac-

knowledge, that, "*Sententia Romanæ Sedis potest in melius commutari.*" My Lord, if I understand what is right divine or human, these be wrongs upon wrongs; which if they reached only to Mr. King's person, were of less consideration; but when through his side, that great work, the translation of God's book, so necessary for both his Majesty's kingdoms, is mortally wounded; pardon me, I beseech your Lordship, if I be sensible of it. I omit to consider what feast our adversaries make of our rewarding him thus for that service; or what this example will avail to the alluring of others to conformity. What should your Lordship have gained if he had died (as it was almost a miracle he did not) under arrest, and had been at once deprived of living, liberty, and life. God hath reprieved him, and given your Lordship means upon right information, to remedy with one word all inconveniences. For conclusion (good my Lord) give me leave a little to apply the parable of Nathan to King David to this purpose: if the wayfaring man, that is come to us (for such he is, having never yet been settled in one place) have so sharp a stomach that he must be provided for with pluralities, sith there are herds and flocks plenty; suffer him not, I beseech you under the colour of the King's name to take the cosset ewe of a poor man, to satisfy his ravenous appetite. So I beseech the heavenly Physician to give your Lordship health of soul and body. I rest,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble servant

in Christ Jesus,

WILL. KILMORE.'

' December 1, 1638.'

By these practices was the printing of the Bible in Irish stopped at that time, but if the rebellion had not prevented our Bishop, he was resolved to have had it done in his own house, and at his own charge; and as preparatory to that, he made some of Chrysostom's Homilies, the three first upon the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, together with some of Leo's; all which tended chiefly to commend the Scriptures in the highest strains of eloquence that were possible, to be

translated both into English and Irish ; and reprinting his Catechism, he added these to it in both languages ; and these were very well received, even by the priests and friars themselves.

He lived not to finish this great design ; yet notwithstanding the rebellion and confusion that followed in Ireland, the manuscript of the translation of the Bible escaped the storm, and falling into good hands, it is at this time under the press, and is carried on chiefly by the zeal, and at the charge of that noble Christian philosopher Mr. Boyle, who as he reprinted upon his own charge the New Testament, so he very cheerfully went into a proposition for reprinting the Old. But this is only one of many instances, by which he has expressed, as well his great and active zeal for carrying on the true interest of religion, as by his other public labours he has advanced and improved philosophy.

But to go on with the concerns of our Bishop, as he had great zeal for the purity of the Christian religion in opposition to the corruptions of the church of Rome ; so he was very moderate in all other matters, that were not of such importance. He was a great supporter of Mr. Dury's design of reconciling the Lutherans and the Calvinists ; and as he directed him by many learned and prudent letters, that he wrote to him on that subject, so he allowed him twenty pounds a year in order to the discharging the expense of that negotiation ; which he payed punctually to his correspondent at London. And it appeared by his managing of a business that fell out in Ireland, that if all that were concerned in that matter, had been blest with such an understanding, and such a temper as he had, there had been no reason to have despaired of it. There came a company of Lutherans to Dublin, who were afraid of joining in communion with the church of Ireland, and when they were cited to answer for it to the Archbishop's Consistory, they desired some time might be granted them for consulting their divines in Germany : and at last letters were brought from thence concerning their exceptions to communion with that church ; because the presence of Christ in the sacra-

ment was not explained in such a manner, as agreed with their doctrine. The Archbishop of Dublin sent these to our Bishop, that he might answer them ; and upon that he writ so learned and so full an answer to all their objections, and explained the matter so clearly, that when this was seen by the German divines, it gave them such entire satisfaction, that upon it they advised their countrymen to join in communion with the church. For such is the moderation of our church in that matter, that no positive definition of the manner of the presence being made, men of different sentiments may agree in the same acts of worship, without being obliged to declare their opinion, or being understood to do any thing contrary to their several persuasions.

His moderation in this matter was a thing of no danger to him, but he expressed it on other instances, in which it appeared that he was not afraid to own it upon more tender occasions. The troubles that broke out in Scotland upon the account of the Book of Common Prayer, which increased to the height of swearing the covenant and putting down of episcopacy, and the turning out of all clergymen that did not concur with them, are so well known that I need not enlarge upon them. It is not to be denied but provocations were given by the heats and indiscretions of some men ; but these were carried so far beyond all the bounds either of order in the church, or peace in the state, that, to give things their proper names, it was a schismatical rage against the church, backed with a rebellious fury against the state. When the Bishop heard of all these things, he said that which Nazianzen said at Constantinople, when the stir was raised in the second general council upon his account, ‘ If this great tempest is risen for our sakes, take us up, and cast us into the sea, that so there may be a calm.’ And if all others had governed their diocess as he did his, one may adventure to affirm after Dr. Bernard, ‘ that episcopacy might have been kept still upon its wheels.’ Some of those that were driven out of Scotland by the fury of that time, came over to Ireland : among these there was one Corbet, that came to Dublin, who

being a man of quick parts, writ a very smart book, shewing the parallel between the Jesuits and the Scotch Covenanters, which he printed under the title of 'Lysimachus Nicanor.' The spirit that was in this book, and the sharpness of the style, procured the author such favour, that a considerable living falling in the Bishop of Killala's gift, he was recommended to it, and so he went to that Bishop; but was ill received by him. The Bishop had a great affection to his country (for he was a Scotchman born), and though he condemned the courses they had taken, yet he did not love to see them exposed in a strange nation, and did not like the man that had done it. The Bishop was a little sharp upon him; he played on his name: Corby, in Scotch, being a raven, and said it was an ill bird that defiled its own nest. And whereas he had said in his book, that he had hardly escaped with his own life, but had left his wife behind him to try the humanity of the Scots; he told him, he had left his wife to a very base office. Several other things he said, which in themselves amounted to nothing, but only expressed an inclination to lessen the faults of the Scots, and to aggravate some provocations that had been given them. Corbet came up full of wrath, and brought with him many informations against the Bishop, which at any other time would not have been much considered; but then, it being thought necessary to make examples of all that seemed favourable to the Covenanters, it was resolved to turn him out of his bishopric, and to give it to Maxwell, that had been Bishop of Ross in Scotland, and was indeed a man of eminent parts, and an excellent preacher; but by his forwardness and aspiring he had been the unhappy instrument of that which brought on all the disorders in Scotland.

A pursuivant was sent to bring up the Bishop of Killala; and he was accused before the High Commission Court for those things that Corbet objected to him; and, every man being ready to push a man down that is falling under disgrace, many designed to merit by aggravating his faults. But when it came to our Bishop's turn to give his sentence in the court, he that

was afraid of nothing but sinning against God, did not stick to venture against the stream: he first read over all that was objected to the Bishop at the bar, then he fetched his argument from the qualifications of a Bishop set down by St. Paul in his epistles to Timothy and Titus; and assumed that he found nothing in those articles contrary to those qualifications; nothing that touched either his life or doctrine. He fortified this by shewing in what manner they proceeded against bishops both in the Greek and Latin churches, and so concluded in the Bishop's favour. This put many out of countenance, who had considered nothing in his sentence but the consequences that were drawn from the Bishop's expressions, from which they gathered the ill disposition of his mind, so that they had gone high in their censures, without examining the canons of the church in such cases. But though those that gave their votes after our Bishop, were more moderate than those that had gone before him had been; yet the current run so strong that none durst plainly acquit him, as our Bishop had done: so he was deprived, fined, and imprisoned, and his bishopric was given to Maxwell, who enjoyed it not long. For he was stripped naked, wounded, and left among the dead, by the Irish; but he was preserved by the Earl of Thomond, who passing that way took care of him, so that he got to Dublin. And then his talent of preaching, that had been too long neglected by him, was better employed; so that he preached very often, and very much to the edification of his hearers, that were then in so great a consternation, that they needed all the comfort that he could minister to them, and all the spirit that he could infuse in them. He went to the King to Oxford, and he said in my author's hearing, that the King had never rightly understood the innate hatred that the Irish bore to all that professed the true religion, till he had informed him of it. But he was so much affected with an ill piece of news, that he heard concerning some misfortune in the King's affairs in England, that he was some hours after found dead in his study. This short digression, I hope, may be forgiven me; for the person was very extraordinary, if an un-

measured ambition had not much defaced his other great abilities and excellent qualities.

The old degraded Bishop Adair was quickly restored to another bishopric, which came to be vacant upon a dismal account, which I would gladly pass over, if I could; for the thing is but too well known. One Adderton, bishop of Waterford, who, as was believed, had by a symoniacal compact procured such favour, that he was recommended to that bishopric; and had covered his own unworthiness, as all wicked men are apt to do, by seeming very zealous in every thing that is acceptable to those who govern, and had been in particular very severe on Bishop Adair; came to be accused and convicted of a crime not to be named, that God punished with fire from heaven; and suffered publicly for it: he expressed so great a repentance, that Dr. Bernard, who preached his funeral sermon, and had waited on him in his imprisonment, had a very charitable opinion of the state in which he died. Upon this, Adair's case was so represented to the King, that he was provided with that bishopric. From which it may appear, that he was not censured so much for any guilt, as to strike a terror in all that might express the least kindness to the Scotch Covenanters. But our Bishop thought the degrading of a bishop was too sacred a thing to be done merely upon politic considerations.

Bishop Bedell was exactly conformable to the forms and rules of the church; he went constantly to common prayer in his cathedral, and often read it himself, and assisted in it always, with great reverence and affection. He took care to have the public service performed strictly according to the Rubric; so that a curate of another parish, being employed to read prayers in the cathedral, that added somewhat to the Collects; the Bishop observing he did this once or twice, went from his place to the reader's pew, and took the book out of his hand, and, in the hearing of the congregation, suspended him for his presumption, and read the rest of the office himself. He preached constantly twice a Sunday in his cathedral on the Epistles and Gospels for the day; and catechised

always in the afternoon before sermon; and he preached always twice a-year before the judges, when they made the circuit. His voice was low and mournful; but as his matter was excellent, so there was a gravity in his looks and behaviour that struck his auditors. He observed the Rubric so nicely, that he would do nothing but according to it; so that in the reading the Psalms and the Anthems, he did not observe the common custom of the minister and the people reading the verses by turns, for he read all himself, because the other was not enjoined by the Rubric. As for the placing of the communion table by the east wall, and the bowing to it, he never would depart from the rule of observing the conformity prescribed by law; for he said, that they were as much nonconformists who added of their own, as they that came short of what was enjoined; as he that adds an inch to a measure disowns it for a rule, as much as he that cuts an inch from it: and as he was severe to him that added words of his own to the Collect, so he thought it was no less censurable to add rites to those that were prescribed. When he came within the church, it appeared in the composedness of his behaviour, that he observed the rule given by the preacher, of 'keeping his feet when he went into the house of God;' but he was not to be wrought on by the greatness of any man, or by the authority of any person's example, to go out of his own way; though he could not but know that such things were then much observed, and measures were taken of men by these little distinctions, in which it was thought that the zeal of conformity discovered itself.

There is so full an account of the tenderness with which he advised all men, but churchmen in particular, to treat those that differed from them, in a sermon that he preached on those words of Christ, 'Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly;' that I am assured the reader will well bear with the length of it. It was preached soon after some heats that had been in the House of Commons in the parliament of Ireland, in which there were many Papists; and in it the sense he had of the way of treating all differences in

religion, whether great or small, is so well laid down, that I hope it will be looked on as no ordinary, nor useless piece of instruction.

‘ Is it not a shame that our two bodies, the church and commonwealth, should exercise mortal hatreds (or immortal rather), and being so near in place should be so far asunder in affection? It will be said by each that other are in fault; and perhaps it may truly be said, that both are; the one, in that they cannot endure with patience the lawful superiority of the worthier body; the other, in that they take no care so to govern, that the governed may find it to be for their best behoof to obey: until which time it will never be, but there will be repining and troubles, and brangles between us. This will be done, in my opinion, not by bolstering out and maintaining the errors and unruliness of the lower officers or members of our body, but by severely punishing them; and, on both sides, must be avoided such men for magistrates and ministers, as seek to dash us one against another all they may.

‘ And would to God this were all; but is it not a shame of shames, that men’s emulations and contentions cannot stay themselves in matters of this sort, but the holy profession of divinity is made fuel to a public fire; and that when we had well hoped all had been either quenched or raked up, it should afresh be kindled and blown up with bitter and biting words? God help us! we had need to attend to this lesson of Christ, “ Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart;” or to that of the apostle, It behoves the servant of God not to contend, but to be meek towards all, instructing with lenity those that be contrary affected, waiting if at any time God will give them a better mind to see the truth. 2 Tim. ii. 25.

‘ And here give me leave (right worshipful and beloved brethren and sisters) to speak freely my mind unto you. I know right well that I shall incur the reproof of divers, yet I will never the more for that spare to utter my conscience; I hope wise men will assent or shew me better. For my part, I have been long of this mind, that many in their sermons and

writings are to blame for their manner of dealing with the adversaries of their opinions, when they give reins to their tongues and pens, to railing and reproachful speeches, and think they have done well, when they exceed or equal them in this trade; wherein to have the better is indeed to be the worse: and, alleging that text for themselves, "That a fool is to be answered according to his folly;"* they do not consider that other, where such manner of answer is forbidden, whereby the answerer becometh like him. Prov. xxvi. 4. 15. i. 24. 26.

' And this is yet more to be blamed, because sometimes all reasons are laid by, and nothing is soundly refuted, but only hot words are given, yea, and with a misconceiving, or misreporting at least, of their opinions, and making every thing worse than it is; which many times ariseth upon ambiguity of words not used in the like sense by both sides. What then? Do I approve of tolerations and unions with errors and heresies? Truly, I wish not to live so long. And yet, as our sins are, and our folly too, to fall together by the ears about small matters amongst ourselves, there is just cause to fear it: but yet such points as may be reconciled, saving the truth, I see not what should move us to hold off in them, and why we may not seek to agree in word, as we do in meaning: for the rest, their purpose and endeavours shall deserve thanks, who, bringing them to the fewest and narrowest terms, shall set down how far we are to join with our dissenting brethren, and where for ever to dissent; that so controversies being handled without the vain flourish of swelling words, and (like proportions) our opinions being set down in the least terms, men may know what to bend their wits to, and where again to plant their arguments, not, as many do, roving always at random; but may always remember to imitate Christ's meekness, and to deal with arguments rather. Let us not envy the Papists and other heretics, the glory and pre-eminence in railing, wherein the more they excel, the more unlike they are to Christ, whose pattern is of meekness—"Learn of me," &c.

* Prov. xsvi. 5.

‘ Yea, but will some man say, This course will not stay men from backsliding to any error or heresy, &c. Who can keep off his enemy without shot, &c.

‘ I. God’s truth needs not to be graced, nor his glory sought by my sin.

‘ II. Again it is so perhaps in an ignorant auditor, and at the first; but if, inquiring himself, he shall find that they or their opinions are not so bad as we make them to be, and would have them seem, it will be a hundred to one that, in other things too, they will not seem to be so bad as they are; and, unless I much mistake, it is not the storm of words, but the strength of reasons, that shall stay a wavering judgment from errors, &c. When that, like a tempest, is overblown, the tide of others examples will carry other men to do as the most do; but these, like so many anchors, will stick, and not come again.

‘ III. Besides, our calling is to deal with errors, not to disgrace the man with scolding words. It is said of Alexander, I think, when he overheard one of his soldiers railing lustily on Darius, his enemy, he reprov’d him, and added, “ Friend,” quoth he, “ I entertain thee to fight against Darius, not to revile him.” Truly it may be well thought, that those that take this course shall find but small thanks at Christ’s, our captain’s, hands; and it is not unlike but he would say to them, were he here on earth again, Masters, I would you should refute Popery, and set yourselves against Antichrist, my enemy, with all the discoloured sects and heresies that fight under his banner against me, and not call him and his troops all to nought.

‘ And this is my poor opinion concerning our dealing with the Papists themselves, perchance differing from the practice of men of great note in Christ’s family, Mr. Luther and Mr. Calvin, and others; but yet we must live by rules, not examples; and they were men who, perhaps by complexion or otherwise, were given over too much to anger and heat. Sure I am, the rule of the apostle is plain, even of such as are the slaves of Satan, that we must with lenity instruct them, waiting that, when escaping out of his snare,

they should recover a sound mind to do God's will, in the place I quoted before.*

' But now when men agreeing with ourselves in the main (yea, and in profession likewise enemies to Popery) shall, varying never so little from us in points of less consequence, be thereupon censured as favourers of Popery, and other errors; when mole-hills shall be made mountains, and unbrotherly terms given: alas! methinks this course savours not of meekness; nay, it would hurt even a good cause, thus to handle it; for where such violence is, ever there is error to be suspected. Affection and heat are the greatest enemies that can be to soundness of judgment, or exactness of comprehension: he that is troubled with passion, is not fitly disposed to judge of truth.

' Besides, is my conceit ever consonant with truth? And if I be subject to error myself, have I forgotten so much the common condition of mankind, or am I so much my own enemy, as to pursue with a terrible scourge of whip-cord, or wire, that which was worthy of some gentler lashes. For indeed he that taketh pet, and conceiveth indignation, that another should, I will not say, differ from himself, but err, and be deceived, seems to proclaim war to all mankind, and may well look himself to find small favour, but rather to endure the law that he had made, and be bated with his own rod.

' To make an end of this point, which, I would to God, I had not had an occasion to enter into: if this precept of our Lord Jesus Christ be to be heard, these things should not be so; if it were heard, they would not be so; and, undoubtedly, if it be not heard, they that are faulty shall bear their judgment, whosoever they be. Meanwhile they shall deserve great praise of all that love peace, who shall maintain quietness, even with some injury to themselves: and, in a good cause, do still endeavour to shew forth the virtue of Christ, that hath called us, as the Apostle Peter exhorteth us at large from this example of Christ, in his first epistle, ii. 20—23. It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence. Injuries,† if by regarding them

* 2 Tim. ii. 25.

† Prov. xix. 11.

a man lay himself open to them, wound and hurt us; if they be contemned, or borne off with the shield of meekness, they glance off, or rebound unto the party that offereth them.

‘Finally, he that in matters of controversy shall bring meekness to his defence, undoubtedly he shall overcome in the manner of handling; and if he bring truth also, he shall prevail at last in the matter.’

This is a part of one of his sermons; of which I have seen but very few; and because they are not sufficient to give a full character of him, I have not published them: but I will add to this two parcels of another sermon that is already in print, and was published by Dr. Bernard, the text is that of the Revelation xviii. 4. ‘Come out of her (Babylon) my people:’ and the design of it is to prove that the see of Rome is the Babylon meant in that text; but in this he mixes an apology for some that were in that communion; and I doubt not but he had his friend P. Paulo in his thoughts when he spoke it. The passage is remarkable, and therefore I will set it down.

‘Wherein observe first (he calls his people to come out of Babylon) a plain argument that there are many not only good moral and civil honest men there, but good Christians, not redeemed only, but in the possession of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ; which may be confirmed by these reasons.

‘First, there is amongst these that are under the tyranny of the Romish Babylon, the sacrament of entrance into the covenant of grace, baptism, by which those that are partakers thereof are “made members of Christ, the children of God, and heirs of eternal life:” and these that have but this seal of God’s covenant, (*viz.* infants) are no small and contemptible part of God’s people, though, as yet, they cannot hear this voice of Christ calling out of Babylon; besides this there is a publication of the tenure of the covenant of grace to such as are of years, though not so openly and purely as it might and ought, yet so as the grounds of the catechism are preached, sin is shewed, Christ’s redemption* (or the story of it) is known, faith in him

* John iii. 18. 36. v. 24.

is called for, and this faith is, by the grace of God, wrought in some: for the word of God and his calling is not fruitless, but like the rain returneth not in vain; and where true faith is, "Men are translated from death to life, he that believeth in the Son, hath everlasting life."*

'Some men perhaps may object, the faith which they describe and call by this name of catholic faith, is none other but such as the devils may have.

'I answer, religion is not logic; he that cannot give a true definition of the soul, is not for that, without a soul; so he that defines not faith truly, yet may have true faith: learned divines are not all of accord touching the definition of it; but if (as by the whole stream of the Scripture it should seem) it be a trust and cleaving unto God; this faith many there have, the love of our Lord Jesus Christ is wrought in many there;† now he that loveth Christ is loved of him, and of the Father also; and because the proof of true love to Christ is the keeping of his sayings, there are good works, and, according to the measure of knowledge, great conscience of obedience.

'Yea, will some men say, but that which marreth all is the opinion of merit and satisfaction. Indeed that is the school doctrine, but the conscience enlightened to know itself, will easily act that part of the publican, who smote his breast, and said, "God be merciful to me a sinner." I remember a good advice of one of that side: "Let others (saith he) that have committed few sins, and done many good works, satisfy for their sins: but whatsoever thou dost, refer it to the honour of God: so as whatsoever good come from thee, thou resolve to do it to please God, accounting thy works too little to satisfy for thy sins: for as for thy sins thou must offer Christ's works, his pains and wounds, and his death itself to him, together with that love of his out of which he endured these things for thee. These are available for the satisfaction for thy sins. But thou whatsoever thou dost, or sufferest, offer it not for thy sins to God, but for his love and good pleasure, wishing to find the more grace with him, whereby thou

* John iii. 18. 36.

† John xiv. 21. 23.

mayest do more, greater and more acceptable works to him; let the love of God then be to thee the cause of well-living, and the hope of well-working." Thus he, and I doubt not but many there be on that side that follow this counsel; herewith I shall relate the speech of a wise and discreet gentleman, my neighbour in England, who lived and died a recusant; he demanded one time, "What was the worst opinion that we could impute to the church of Rome?" It was said, "There was none more than this of our merits."* And that Cardinal Bellarmine not only uphold them, but saith, we may trust in them, so it be done soberly; and saith, they deserve eternal life, not only in respect of God's promises and covenant, but also in regard of the work itself: whereupon he answered, "Bellarmine was a learned man, and could perhaps defend what he wrote by learning; but for his part he trusted to be saved only by the merits of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and as for good works he would do all that he could: 'Et valeant quantum valere possint.'"

'To proceed: In or under the obedience of Rome there is persecution, and that is a better mark of Christ's people, than Bellarmine's temporal felicity. All that will live "godly in Christ Jesus (saith the apostle) shall suffer persecution;" "ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake" (saith our Saviour), and so are all they on that side that are less superstitious than others, or dare speak of redress of abuses; yea, there is martyrdom for a free opposing men's traditions, image-worshippers, purgatory, and the like.

'Add, that in obedience to this call of Christ, there do some come daily from thence; and in truth how could our Saviour call his people from thence if he had none there? How could the apostles say that Antichrist, from whose captivity they are called, "shall sit in the temple of God" (since that Jerusalem is finally and utterly desolated), unless the same apostle elsewhere declaring himself, had shewed us his meaning, that the church is "the house of God:" and again, ye are the "temple of the living God," and the "temple of God is holy,"† which are ye. It will be said

* De justificat. lib. v. cap. 7.

† 1 Tim. iii. 15.

that there are on that side many gross errors, many open idolatries, and superstitions, so as those which live there must needs be either partakers of them, and like minded, or else very hypocrites. But many errors and much ignorance, so it be not affected, may stand with true faith in Christ; and when there is true contrition for one sin (that is, because it displeaseth God), there is a general and implicit repentance for all unknown sins. God's providence in the general revolt of the ten tribes, when Elias thought himself left alone, had reserved seven thousand that "had not bowed to the image of Baal :"* and the like may be conceived here, since especially, the idolatry practised under the obedience of mystical Babylon, is rather in false and will-worship of the true God, and rather commended, as profitable, than enjoined as absolutely necessary, and the corruptions there maintained are rather in a superfluous addition than retraction in any thing necessary to salvation.

' Neither let that hard term of hypocrisy be used of the infirmity, and sometime, of humble and peaceable carriage of some that oppose not common errors, nor wrestle with the greater part of men, but do follow the multitude, reserving a right knowledge to themselves; and sometimes (by the favour which God gives them to find where they live), obtain better conditions than others can. We call not John the beloved disciple an hypocrite, because he was "known to the high-priest,"† and could procure Peter to be let to see the arraignment of our Saviour: nor call we Peter himself one that for fear denied him; much less Daniel and his companions; that by suit, obtained of Melzar their keeper that they might "feed upon pulse, and not be defiled with the king of Babel's meat,"‡ and these knew themselves to be captives in Babel. But in the new Babel how many thousands do we think there are that think otherwise; that they are in the true catholic church of God, the name whereof this harlot hath usurped: and although they acknowledge that where they live there are many abuses, and that the church hath need of reformation, yet there they

* 1 Kings xix. 18. † 1 John xviii. 15, 16. ‡ Dan. i. 16.

were born, and that they may not abandon their mother in her sickness. Those that converse more inwardly with men of conscience, on that side, do know that these are speeches in secret; which how they will be justified against the commands of Christ (come out of her, my people), belongs to another place to consider. For the purpose we have now in hand, I dare not but account these the people of God, though they live very dangerously under the captivity of Babylon, as did Daniel, Mordecai, Hester, Nehemiah, and Ezra, and many Jews more, notwithstanding both Cyrus's commission, and the prophet's command to depart.

'This point may give some light in a question that is on foot among learned and good men at this day, whether the church of Rome be a true church or no? where I think surely if the matter be rightly declared, for the terms there will remain no question. As thus, whether Babylon pretending to be the church of Rome, yea, the catholic church, be so or not? or this, whether the people of Christ that are under that captivity be a true church or no? either of both ways, if declared in these terms, the matter will soon be resolved.

'Except some man will perhaps still object, though there be a people of God, yet they can be no true church, for they have no priesthood which is necessary to the constitution of a church, as St. Cyprian describes it, "*Plebs Sacerdoti adunata*,"* people joined to their priest: they have no priesthood, being by the very form of their ordination, sacrificers for the quick and the dead.

'I answer, under correction of better judgments, they have the ministry of reconciliation by the commission which is given at their ordination; being the same which our Saviour left in his church, "*Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted; whose sins ye retain, they are retained.*"†

'As for the other power to sacrifice, if it be any otherwise than the celebrating the commemoration of Christ's sacrifice once offered upon the cross, it is no part of the priesthood or ministry of the New Testament, but a superfluous addition thereunto, which yet

* Epistola 69.

† John xx. 23.

worketh not to the destruction of that which is lawfully conferred otherwise. This doctrine I know not how it can offend any, unless it be in being too charitable, and that I am sure is a good fault, and serves well for a sure mark of Christ's sheep, and may have a very good operation to help Christ's people out of Babel: "By this," saith he, "shall men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have charity one to another."* But they call us heretics, miscreants, dogs, &c. and persecute us with more deadly hatred than Jews and Turks; yea, this is Babylon, and perhaps some of God's people in it that are misinformed of us. Thus did Saul for a while, yet a chosen vessel to bear Christ's name over the world. But let us maintain our charity to them, as we are wont to bear with the weakness of our friends or children, when in hot fevers or phrensies, they miscall us. Let us remember if they be Christ's people, how little loving soever they be to us, they must be our beloved brethren, and this of the persons.'

To this I shall add the conclusion of that excellent sermon in which there is such a mixture both of serious piety and of an undissembled sincerity, that I hope the reader will not be displeased with me for laying it in his way.

'Now should I come to the motives from the danger of sin, and of partaking in punishment. But the handling of these would require a long time, let me rather make some application of that which hath been said already. And first, and most properly, to those that this scripture most concerns and is directed unto: "The people of God holden in the captivity of the Roman Babylon:" but alas they are not here, for this is one part of their captivity, that they are kept, not only from hearing the voice of the servants of Christ, or of St. John the beloved disciple, but of himself speaking here from heaven; and since they are so contented, what remedy may there be for those that are thus bewitched, unless you (my lords and brethren) will be contented to become faithful feoffees in trust, to convey this voice and message of Christ unto them: and

* John xiii. 35.

by my request you shall be pleased to do it, with a great deal of love. As this president of our Lord himself doth lead you as to brethren, and, as you hope, faithful people, loath to sin against him, and desirousto please him in all things. Tell them then, that it is acknowledged by their own doctors, that Rome is Babylon, and it is averred, that this is the present papal monarchy, that out of this they must depart by the commands of our Lord Jesus Christ's own voice, under pain of being accessary to all her sins, and liable to all her punishments: wish them to use the liberty to read the Holy Scripture, and to come out of the blind obedience of men's precepts and traditions: be pleased to tell them further, that others may have some colour of excuse, that live in such places where they may not discover themselves without danger of the loss of their goods, honour, or life; they may do it here, not only with safety but with reputation and profit: entreat them to beware lest they make themselves extremely culpable, not only of partaking with the former idolatries, extortions, massacres, powder-treasures, and king-killings of that bloody city, but the new detestable doctrines, derogatory to the blood of Christ, which moderate men even of her own subjects detest: but which she, for fear it should discontent her own creatures, and devoted darlings will not disavow: O if they would fear the plagues of Babylon, and that of all others the fearfulest, "blindness of mind, and strong delusions to believe lies, that they may be damned that believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness."* But you hope better things of them, accompanying salvation; and this message of our Lord Jesus Christ, if you will be pleased to deliver, accompanying it with those general and common goods of charity and meekness, integrity, good example, and the special furtherance, which your callings and places in state, church, or family can give it, doubtless to Christ's people it will not be uneffectual.

'Blessed be God that hath long ago stirred up the spirits of our princes,† like Cyrus to give liberty to God's people, to go out of Babylon,‡ and to give

* 2 Thess. ii. 11. † Ezra i. 1. ‡ Ezra vi. 3. vii. 12.

large patents, with Darius, and Artaxerxes, for the building of the temple, and establishing the service of God.

‘ And blessed be God, and his Majesty that hath sent us another Nehemia, to build up the walls of Jerusalem,* and to procure that the portion of the Levites should be given them. Give me leave (Right Honourable)† to put you in mind, that this also belongeth to your care, to co-operate with Christ in bringing his people out of the Romish captivity. And if to help away a poor captive out of Turkey hath been honourable to some public ministers, what shall it be to help to the enlarging of so many thousand souls out of the bondage of men’s traditions, and gaining to his Majesty so many entire subjects. Your wisdom, my Lord, is such as it needeth not to be advised; and your zeal as it needeth not to be stirred up: yet pardon me one word, for the purpose of helping Christ’s people out of Babylon.

‘ They are called by himself often in Scripture, “ his sheep;” and verily, as in many other, so in this they are like to sheep; which being cooped up in a narrow pent, though they find some pressure, and the passage be set open, are not forward to come out; unless they be put on, but strain courtesy, which should begin; yet when they are once out with a joyful frisk they exult in their freedom, yea, and when a few of the foremost lead, the rest follow: I shall not need to make application; do according to your wisdom in your place, and Christ whose work it is shall be with you, and further your endeavours.

‘ The like I say unto you the rest of my lords, fathers, and brethren, help your friends, followers, and tenants out of Babylon, what you may in your places; you have the examples of Abraham, Joshua, Cornelius, praised in Scripture for propagating the knowledge and fear of God in their families and commands, with the report of God’s accepting it, and rewarding it, and this to the use of others.

‘ But shall you not carry away something for yourselves also; yes verily, take to yourselves this voice

* Neh. ii. 18.

† Neh. x. 37. xiii. 10.

of our Saviour, "Come out of Babylon;" you will say we have done it already, God be thanked we are good Christians, good Protestants, some of us preachers and that call upon others to come out of Babylon: but if St. Paul prayed the converted Corinthians "to be reconciled to God;"* and St. John writing to believers, sets down the record of God touching his Son, "that they might believe in the name of the Son of God;"† why may not I exhort in Christ's name and words, even those that are come out of Babylon, to come out of her. "Qui monet ut facias, &c." He that persuades another to that which he doth already, in persuading encourageth him, and puts him on in his performance; but if there be any yet unresolved, and halting or hanging between two (as the people did in Elias's time),‡ that present their bodies at such meetings as this is, when their hearts are perhaps at Rome, or no where, if any are in some points rightly informed and cleared; and in others doubtful, to such Christ speaks, "Come out of her, my people," press on by prayer, conference, reading (if Christ's voice be to be heard), if Rome be Babylon, come out of her.

'And let it be spoken with as little offence as it is delight: we that seem to be the forwardest in reformation, are not yet so come out of Babylon, as that we have not many shameful badges of her captivity, witness her impropriations, being indeed plain church-robberies, devised to maintain her colonies of idle and irregular regulars; idle to the church and state, zealous and pragmatistical to support and defend her power, pomp, and pride, by whom they subsisted: witness her dispensations, or dissipations rather, of all canonical orders; bearing down all with her *non obstante*, her symoniacal and sacrilegious venality of holy things, her manifold extortions in the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which we have not wholly banished: let each of us therefore account it as spoken to himself, "Come out of her my people."

'In this journey let us not trouble and cast stumbling blocks before God's people, that are ready to come out; or hinder one another with dissensions in matters

* 2 Cor. v. 2.

† 1 John v. 13.

‡ 1 Kings xviii. 21.

either inexplicable, or unprofitable: let it have some pardon, if some be even so forward in flying from Babylon, as they fear to go back, to take their own goods for haste; and let it not be blamed or uncharitably censured, if some come in the rear,* and would leave none of Christ's people behind them: no man reacheth his hand to another whom he would lift out of a ditch, but he stoops to him. Our ends immediate are not the same, but yet they meet in one final intention; the one hates Babylon, and the other loves and pities Christ's people: the one believes the angel that cast the milstone into the sea; in the end of this chapter, with that word "so shall Babylon rise no more." The other fears the threatening of our Saviour against such as scandalize any of the little ones believing in him, that it is better for such a one to have "a millstone hanged upon his neck, and be cast into the sea himself."†

'Finally, let us all beseech our Lord Jesus Christ to give us wisdom and opportunity to further his work, and to give success unto the same himself, to hasten the judgment of Babylon, to bring his people out of this bondage, that we with them and all his saints in the church triumphant, may thereupon sing a joyful hallelujah, as is expressed in the next chapter.

'Salvation, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto the Lord our God, Amen.—Hallelujah.'

He preached very often in his episcopal habit, but not always, and used it seldom in the afternoon; nor did he love the pomp of a choir, nor instrumental music; which he thought filled the ear with too much pleasure, and carried away the mind from the serious attention to the matter, which is indeed the singing with grace in the heart, and the inward melody with which God is chiefly pleased. And when another bishop justified these things, because they served much to raise the affections, he answered, that in order to the raising the affections, those things that tended to edification ought only to be used: and thought it would

* Et qui tardiùs ambulant, non sunt relinquendi.—S. Aug. in Epistola 1 Joh. Tract. 5.

† Matt. xviil. 6.

be hard otherwise to make stops; for upon the same pretence an infinity of rites might be brought in. And the sense he had of the excesses of superstition, from what he had observed during his long stay in Italy, made him judge it necessary to watch carefully against the beginnings of that disease, which is like a green sickness in religion. He never used the common prayer in his family; for he thought it was intended to be the solemn worship of Christians in their public assemblies, and that it was not so proper for private families. He was so exact an observer of ecclesiastical rules, that he would perform no part of his function out of his own diocese, without obtaining the ordinary's leave for it; so that being in Dublin, when his wife's daughter was to be married to Mr. Clogy (that is much more the author of this book than I am), and they both desired to be blessed by him, he would not do it till he first took out a licence for it in the Archbishop of Dublin's consistory.

So far I have prosecuted the relation of his most exemplary discharge of his episcopal function; reserving what is more personal and particular to the end where I shall give his character. I now come to the conclusion of his life, which was indeed suitable to all that had gone before. But here I must open one of the bloodiest scenes, that the sun ever shone upon, and represent a nation all covered with blood, that was in full peace, under no fears nor apprehensions, enjoying great plenty, and under an easy yoke, under no oppression in civil matters, nor persecution upon the account of religion: for the bishops and priests of the Roman communion enjoyed not only an impunity, but were almost as public in the use of their religion, as others were in that which was established by law; so that they wanted nothing but empire, and a power to destroy all that differed from them. And yet on a sudden this happy land was turned to be a field of blood. Their bishops resolved in one particular to fulfil the obligation of the oath they took at their consecration of persecuting all heretics to the utmost of their power; and their priests, that had their breeding in Spain, had brought over from thence the true spirit

of their religion, which is ever breathing cruelty, together with a tincture of the Spanish temper, that had appeared in the conquest of the West Indies, and so they thought a massacre was the surest way to work, and intended that the natives of Ireland should vie with the Spaniards for what they had done in America.

The conjuncture seemed favourable, for the whole isle of Britain was so embroiled, that they reckoned they should be able to master Ireland, before any forces could be sent over to check the progress of their butchery. The Earl of Strafford had left Ireland some considerable time before this. The Parliament of England was rising very high against the King; and though the King was then gone to Scotland, it was rather for a present quieting of things that he gave up all to them, than that he gained them to his service. So they laid hold of this conjuncture, to infuse it into the people, that this was the proper time for them to recover their ancient liberty, and shake off the English yoke, and to possess themselves of those estates that had belonged to their ancestors: and to such as had some rests of duty to the King it was given out, that what they were about was warranted by his authority, and for his service. A seal was cut from another charter, and put to a forged commission, giving warrant to what they were going about. And because the King was then in Scotland, they made use of a Scotch seal. They also pretended that the parliaments of both kingdoms being either in rebellion against the King, or very near it, that the English of Ireland would be generally in the interest of the English Parliament; so that it was said, that they could not serve the King better than by making themselves masters in Ireland, and then declaring for the King against his other rebellious subjects.

These things took universally with the whole nation; and the conspiracy was cemented by many oaths and sacraments, and in conclusion all things were found to be so ripe that the day was set in which they should every where break out; and the castle of Dublin being then as well stored with a great magazine, which the Earl of Strafford had laid up for the army, that he

intended to have carried into Scotland, had not the pacification prevented it, as it was weakly kept by a few careless warders; who might have been easily surprised: it was resolved that they should seize on it, which would have furnished them with arms and ammunition, and have put the metropolis, and very probably the whole island in their hands. But, though this was so well laid, that the execution could not have missed, in all human appearance; and though it was kept so secret that there was not the least suspicion of any design on foot, till the night before, and then one that was among the chief of the managers of it, out of kindness to an Irishman, that was become a Protestant, communicated the project to him; the other went and discovered it to the Lords Justices, and by this means not only the castle of Dublin was preserved, but in effect Ireland was saved. For in Dublin there was both a shelter for such as were stripped and turned out of all they had, to fly to, and a place of rendezvous, where they that escaped before the storm had reached to them, met to consult about their preservation. But though Dublin was thus secured, the rest of the English and Scotch in Ireland, particularly in Ulster, fell into the hands of those merciless men, who reckoned it no small piece of mercy, when they stripped people naked, and let them go with their lives. But the vast numbers that were butchered by them, which one of their own writers in a discourse that he printed some years after, in order to the animating them to go on, boasts to have exceeded two hundred thousand, and the barbarous cruelties they used in murdering them, are things of so dreadful a nature, that I cannot easily go on with so dismal a narrative, but must leave it to the historians. I shall say no more of it than what concerns our Bishop. It may be easily imagined how much he was struck with that fearful storm, that was breaking on every hand of him, though it did not yet break in upon himself. There seemed to be a secret guard set about his house; for though there was nothing but fire, blood, and desolation round about him, yet the Irish were so restrained, as by some hidden power, that they did him no harm for many weeks: his house was in no condition to

make any resistance, so that it was not any apprehension of the opposition that might be made them, that bound them up. Great numbers of his neighbours had also fled to him for shelter: he received all that came, and shared every thing he had so with them, that all things were common among them; and now that they had nothing to expect from men, he invited them all to turn with him to God, and to prepare for that death, which they had reason to look for every day; so that they spent their time in prayers and fasting, which last was now like to be imposed on them by necessity. The rebels expressed their esteem for him in such a manner that he had reason to ascribe it wholly to that overruling power, that stills the raging of the seas, and the tumult of the people; they seemed to be overcome with his exemplary conversation among them, and with the tenderness and charity that he had upon all occasions expressed for them, and they often said he should be the last Englishman that should be put out of Ireland. He was the only Englishman in the whole county of Cavan that was suffered to live in his own house without disturbance; not only his house, and all the out-buildings, but the church and churchyard were full of people; and many that a few days before lived in great ease and much plenty, were now glad of a heap of straw or hay to lie upon, and of some boiled wheat to support nature; and were every day expecting when those swords, that had, according to the prophetic phrase, 'drunk up so much blood,' should likewise be satiated with theirs. They did now eat the bread of sorrow, and mingled their cups with their tears. The Bishop continued to encourage them to trust in God, and in order to that he preached to them the first Lord's day after this terrible calamity had brought them about him, on the third psalm, which was penned by David when there was a general insurrection of the people against him under his unnatural son Absalom; and he applied all to their condition. He had a doleful assembly before him, an auditory all melting in tears: it requires a soul of an equal elevation to his to imagine how he raised up their spirits, when he spake to these words, 'But thou, O Lord, art a shield

for me, my glory, and the lifter up of my head. I laid me down and slept: I awaked, for the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid of ten thousands of the people, that have set themselves against me, round about.' And to the conclusion of the psalm, 'Salvation belongeth unto the Lord: thy blessing is upon thy people.' The next Lord's day, hearing of the scoffings, as well as the cruelty, of the Irish, he preached on these words in Micah, 'Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall I shall rise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me: he will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness. Then she that is mine enemy shall see it, and shame shall cover her which said unto me, Where is the Lord thy God.' By these means, and through the blessing of God upon them, they encouraged themselves in God, and were prepared for the worst that their enemies could do to them.

The Irish themselves were at a stand: the miscarriage of the design on Dublin Castle was a sad disappointment: they were unarmed, they had no treasure, no fleet, nor foreign support; and though there were some good officers among them, yet they found the soldiers to be as cowardly as the English inhabitants felt them to be cruel: for as those two characters are observed generally to meet in the same person; so it was very visible upon this occasion, since a very small body of good men could have gone over the whole kingdom, and have reduced it in fewer months than it cost years. Their chief hope was, the only thing in which they were not disappointed, that the disputes between the King and the Parliament of England, would make supplies come over so slow, that they might thereby gain much time; and in conclusion they might hope for a more favourable conjuncture. Those of the county of Cavan seemed to see their error, and apprehend their danger; so they came to the Bishop, as the fittest man to interpose for them; he was willing to oblige those on the one hand, at

whose mercy he was, and on the other hand to bring them to such a submission, as might at least procure some breathing time to the poor English, and to those few houses that stood out, but were falling within doors under an enemy that was more irresistible than the Irish ; for they were much straitened, their provisions failing them. The petition, that they signed and sent up to the lords justices and the council, was too well penned to come from those that set their hands to it. It was drawn by the Bishop, who put their matter in his own words ; therefore I shall insert it here, though it gives the best colours to their rebellion of any of all their papers that I ever saw.

*' To the Right Honourable the Lords Justices
and Council,*

' The humble remonstrance of the gentry and commonalty of the county of Cavan, of their grievances common with other parts of this kingdom of Ireland.

' Whereas we, his Majesty's loyal subjects of his Highness's kingdom of Ireland, have of long time groaned under many grievous pressures, occasioned by the rigorous government of such placed over us, as respected more the advancement of their own private fortunes, than the honour of his Majesty, or the welfare of us, his subjects ; whereof we in humble manner declared ourselves to his Highness by our agents sent from the parliament, the representative body of this kingdom : notwithstanding which, we find ourselves of late threatened with far greater and more grievous vexations, either with captivity of our consciences, our losing of our lawful liberties, or utter expulsion from our native seats, without any just ground given on our parts, to alter his Majesty's goodness so long continued unto us ; of all which we find great cause of fears in the proceeding of our neighbour nations, and do see it already attempted upon by certain petitioners for the like course to be taken in this kingdom, for the effecting thereof, in a compulsory way, so as rumours have caused fears of invasion from other parts, to the dissolving the bond of mutual agreement,

which hitherto hath been held inviolable between the several subjects of this kingdom; and whereby all other his Majesty's dominions have been linked in one. For the preventing therefore of such evils growing upon us in this kingdom, we have, for the preservation of his Majesty's honour, and our own liberties, thought fit to take into our hands, for his Highness's use and service, such forts and other places of strength, as coming into the possession of others might prove disadvantageous, and tend to the utter undoing the kingdom. And we do hereby declare, that herein we harbour not the least thought of disloyalty towards his Majesty, or purpose any hurt to any of his Highness's subjects in their possession, goods, or liberty: only we desire that your Lordships will be pleased to make remonstrance to his Majesty for us, of all our grievances, and just fears, that they may be removed, and such a course settled by the advice of the Parliament of Ireland, whereby the liberty of our consciences may be secured unto us, and we eased of other burthens in civil government. As for the mischiefs and inconveniences that have already happened through the disorder of the common sort of people, against the English inhabitants, or any other; we, with the noblemen, and gentlemen, and such others of the several counties of this kingdom, are most willing and ready to use our and their best endeavours in causing restitution and satisfaction to be made as in part we have already done.

'An answer hereunto is most humbly desired, with such present expedition as may by your Lordships be thought most convenient for avoiding the inconvenience of the barbarousness and uncivility of the commonalty, who have committed many outrages without any order, consenting, or privity of ours. All which we leave to your Lordships' most grave wisdom.

'And we shall humbly pray, &c.'

But this came to nothing: while these things were in agitation, the titular bishop of Kilmore came to Cavan; his name was Swiney, he was like his name, for he often wallowed in his own vomit. He had a

brother, whom the Bishop had converted, and had entertained him in his house, till he found out a way of subsistence for him. He pretended that he came only to protect the Bishop, so he desired to be admitted to lodge in his house, and assured him that he would preserve him. But the Bishop hearing of this, writ the following letter in Latin to him; which will be found at the end of this book,* and is indeed a style fit for one of the most eloquent of the Roman authors. Here I shall give a translation of it in English.

‘ Reverend Brother,

‘ I am sensible of your civility in offering to protect me by your presence in the midst of this tumult; and upon the like occasion I would not be wanting to do the like charitable office to you: but there are many things that hinder me from making use of the favour you now offer me. My house is strait, and there is a great number of miserable people of all ranks, ages, and of both sexes, that have fled hither as to a sanctuary; besides that some of them are sick, among whom my own son is one. But that which is beyond all the rest, is the difference of our way of worship: I do not say of our religion, for I have ever thought, and have published it in my writings, that we have one common Christian religion. Under our present miseries we comfort ourselves with the reading of the Holy Scriptures, with daily prayers, which we offer up to God in our vulgar tongue, and with the singing of psalms; and since we find so little truth among men, we rely on the truth of God, and on his assistance. These things would offend your company, if not yourself; nor could others be hindered, who would pretend that they came to see you, if you were among us; and under that colour those murderers would break in upon us, who after they have robbed us of all that belongs to us, would in conclusion think they did God good service by our slaughter. For my own part I am resolved to trust to the divine protection. To a Christian, and a Bishop, that is now almost seventy, no death for the cause of Christ can be bitter: on the

* See Appendix, No. 4.

contrary, nothing is more desirable. And though I ask nothing for myself alone, yet if you will require the people under an Anathema, not to do any other acts of violence to those whom they have so often beaten, spoiled, and stript, it will be both acceptable to God, honourable to yourself, and happy to the people, if they obey you: but if not, consider that God will remember all that is now done. To whom, Reverend Brother, I do heartily commend you.

Yours in Christ,

WILL. KILMORE.'

' November 2, 1641.'

Endorsed thus,

' *To my Reverend and loving Brother, Dr. Swiney.*'

This letter commends itself so much, that I need say nothing but wish my reader to see where he can find such another, writ on such an occasion, with so much spirit, as well as piety and discretion. It was the last he ever writ, and was indeed a conclusion well becoming such a pen. It had at that time some effect, for the Bishop gave him no further disturbance till about five weeks after this; so that, from the 23d of October, which was the dismal day in which the rebellion broke out, till the 18th of December following, he, together with all that were within his walls, enjoyed such quiet, that if it was not in all points a miracle, it was not far from one; and it seemed to be an accomplishment of those words: 'A thousand shall fall on thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee; there shall no evil befall thee; for he shall give his angels charge over thee.' But to the former letter I shall add the last paper of spiritual advice and direction that ever the Bishop writ; which he did at the desire of one Mrs. Dillan, that was a zealous and devout Protestant, but had been fatally deluded in her widowhood by Mr. Dillan, son to the Earl of Roscommon, taking him to be a Protestant, and had married him, but enjoyed herself very little after that; for though he used no violence to her, or her children by her former husband, in the point of religion; yet he bred up his children

by her in his own superstition, and he was now engaged in the rebellion. So that she had at this time a vast addition to her former sorrows upon her; and therefore desired that the Bishop, whose neighbour and constant hearer she had been, would send her such instructions in this sad calamity, as might both direct and support her. Upon which he writ the following paper.

‘ You desire, as I am informed (dear sister in Christ Jesus), that I would send you some short memorial, to put you in mind how to carry yourself in this sorrowful time. I will do it willingly; the more, because with one and the same labour, I shall both satisfy you, and recollect my own thoughts also to the like performance of mine own duty, and bethinking myself how I might best accomplish it, there came to my mind that short rule of our life, which the apostle mentions in his epistle to Titus, and whereof you have been a diligent hearer in the school of grace, where he reduceth the whole practice of Christianity unto three heads, of living Soberly, Justly, and Godly: this last directing our carriage towards God, the middlemost towards our neighbour, and the foremost towards ourselves. Now since this is a direction for our whole life, it seems to me, that we have no more to do at any time, but to con this lesson more perfectly, with some particular application of such parts of it, as are most suitable to the present occasions. And as to Sobriety first (under which the virtues of humility, modesty, temperance, chastity, and contentedness are contained), since this is a time, wherein, as the prophet saith, “ The Lord of Hosts calleth to weeping and mourning, and pulling off the hair, and girding with sackcloth,” you shall, by my advice, conform yourself to those, that by the hand of God suffer such things. Let your apparel and dress be mournful, as I doubt not but that your mind is; your diet sparing and coarse, rather than full and liberal; frame yourself to the indifferency, whereof the apostle speaketh, “ In whatsoever state you shall be, therewith to be content;” to be full, and to be hungry; to abound and to want. Remember now that which is

the lot of others, you know not how soon it may be your own. Learn to despise, and defy, the vain and falsely called wealth of this world, whereof you now see, we have so casual and uncertain a possession.

‘ This for sobriety, the first part of the lesson pertaining to yourself.

‘ Now for Justice, which respects others (and containeth the virtues of honour to superiors, discreet and equal government of inferiors, peaceableness to all, meekness, mercy, just dealing in matters of getting and spending, gratitude, liberality, just speech and desires), God’s judgments being in the earth, the inhabitants of the world should learn righteousness, as the prophet speaketh. Call to mind, therefore, and bethink you, if in any of these you have failed, and turn your feet to God’s testimonies; certainly these times are such, wherein you may be afflicted, and say with the Psalmist, “ Horror hath taken hold of me, and rivers of tears run down mine eyes, because they keep not thy laws.” Rebelling against superiors, misleading, not only by example, but by compulsion, inferiors, laying their hand to them, that were at peace with them, unjustly spoiling, and unthankfully requiting, those that had shewed them kindness, no faith nor truth in their promises; judge by the way, of the school that teacheth Christ thus; are these his doings? as for those that suffer, I am well assured, I shall not need to inform you, or stir you up to mercy and compassion. That which is done in this kind, is done to Christ himself, and shall be put upon account in your reckoning, and rewarded accordingly at his glorious appearance.

‘ The last and principal part of our lesson remains, which teacheth how to behave ourselves Godly, or religiously; (to this belong, first, the duties of God’s inward worship, as fear, love, and faith in God; then outward, as invocation, the holy use of his word and sacraments, name, and sabbaths). The apostle makes it the whole end and work for which we were set in this world, to seek the Lord; yet, in public affliction, we are specially invited thereto, as it is written of Jehoshaphat, when a great multitude came to invade

him, "He set his face to seek the Lord, and called the people to a solemn fast." So the church professeth in the prophet Isaiah, "In the way of thy judgments, Lord, we have waited for thee; the desire of our soul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee. With my soul have I desired thee in the night, yea, with my spirit within me will I seek thee early." In this public calamity, therefore, it is our duty to turn to him that smiteth us, and to humble ourselves under his mighty hand; to conceive a reverend and religious fear towards him, that only, by turning away his countenance, can thus trouble us, against that of man, which can do no more but kill the body.

'Again, to renew our love to our heavenly Father, that now offereth himself to us, as to children, and to give a proof of that love that we bear to our Saviour, in the keeping of his sayings, hating in comparison of him, and competition with him, father, mother, children, goods, and life itself, which is the condition, and proof of his disciples; and, above all, to receive, and to reinforce our faith and affiance, which is now brought unto the trial of the fiery furnace, and of the lion's den. O that it might be found to our honour, praise, and glory, at the appearing of Jesus Christ. In the mean space, even now, let us be partakers of Christ's sufferings, and hear him from heaven encouraging us, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

'Touching prayer, we have this gracious invitation, "Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee;" the example of all God's saints, and of our Saviour in his agony; to this belong the humble confession of our sins, with earnest request of pardon; the complaint of our misery and danger, with request of succour and protection; we have besides the intercession of our Advocate, with the Father, the cry of the innocent blood, that hath been cruelly shed, and the Lord's own interesting himself in the cause, so as we may say with the Psalmist, "Arise, O God: plead thine own cause, remember how the foolish man, (yea, the man of sin) reproacheth thee daily: forget not the voice of thine enemies; the tumult of those that rise

against thee, increaseth continually." That psalm, and many others, as the 6, 13, 35, 43, 71, 74, 79, 80, 88, 92, 94, 102, 115, 123, 130, 140, 142, do give precedents of prayers in such times as these; and the prayer of Daniel, and Ezra ix, of Asa and Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xiv. and xxvi. 12. The stories of David's flight before Absalom, and Jehoshaphat's behaviour when the enemies came against him, of Hezekiah's in Sennacherib's invasion, Isa. xxxvii. and the whole booke of Esther, are fit scriptures now to be read, that through the patience and comfort of them we might have hope.

' Now because we know not how soon we may be called to sanctify God's name, by making profession thereof, you may perhaps desire to know what to say in that day. You may openly profess your not doubting of any article of the catholic faith, shortly laid down in the Creed, or more largely laid down in the Holy Scriptures, but that you consent not to certain opinions, which are no points of faith, which have been brought into common belief, without warrant of Scriptures, or pure antiquity, as namely,

' That it is of necessity to salvation to be under the Pope.

' That the Scriptures ought not to be read of the common people.

' That the doctrine of Holy Scripture is not sufficient to salvation.

' That the service of God ought to be in a language not understood of the people.

' That the communion should not be administered to them in both kinds.

' That the bread in the Lord's supper, is transubstantiated into his body.

' That he is there sacrificed for the quick and the dead.

' That there is any purgatory besides Christ's blood.

' That our good works can merit heaven.

' That the saints hear our prayers, and know our hearts.

' That images are to be worshipped.

' That the Pope is infallible, and can command angels.

‘ That we ought to pray to the dead and for the dead.

‘ In all these notwithstanding, you may profess your teachableness, if by sound reasons out of God’s word, you shall be convinced of the truth of them : and because we know not how far it will please God to call us to make resistance against sin, whether unto blood itself, or not ; it shall be wisdom for us to prepare ourselves to the last care of a godly life, which is to die godly. This the Apostle Paul calleth “ sleeping in Jesus,” implying thereby our faith in him, our being found in his work, and our committing our souls into his hands with peace ; such a sweet and heavenly sleep was that of St. Stephen, whose last words for himself were, “ Lord Jesus receive my spirit,” and for his tormentors, “ Lord lay not this sin to their charge ;” wherewith I will end this writing, and wish to end my life, when the will of God shall be, to whose gracious protection, dear sister, I do heartily commit you.’

‘ November, 23, 1641.’

These advices shew in what temper that holy man was in this his extremity. They had a very good effect, on the lady ; for as by reading them over very often she got to be able to say them all without book, so she did that which was much more, she lodged them in her heart, as well as in her memory. While this good man was now every day waiting for his crown, the rebels sent to him, desiring him to dismiss the company that was about him ; but he refused to obey their cruel order, and he resolved to live and die with them ; and would much more willingly have offered himself to have died for them, than have accepted of any favour for himself, from which they should be shut out. And when they sent him word, that though they loved and honoured him beyond all the English that ever came into Ireland, because he had never done wrong to any, but good to many, yet they had received orders from the council of state at Kilkenny, that had assumed the government of the rebels, that if he would not put away the people, that had gathered about him, they should take him from them ; he said no

more, but in the words of David and St. Paul, ' Here I am, the Lord do unto me as seems good to him, the will of the Lord be done : ' so on the 18th of December they came and seized on him, and on all that belonged to him, and carried him, and his two sons, and Mr. Clogy, prisoners to the castle of Lochwater, the only place of strength in the whole county. It was a little tower in the midst of a lake, about a musket-shot from any shore : and though there had been a little island about it anciently, yet the water had so gained on it, that there was not a foot of ground above water, but only the tower itself. They suffered the prisoners to carry nothing with them ; for the titular Bishop took possession of all that belonged to the Bishop, and said mass the next Lord's day in the church. They set the Bishop on horseback, and made the other prisoners go on foot by him : and thus he was lodged in this castle, that was a most miserable dwelling. The castle had been in the hands of one Mr. Cullum, who, as he had the keeping of the fort trusted to him, so he had a good allowance for a magazine to be laid up in it, for the defence of the country : but he had not a pound of powder, nor one fixed musket in it, and he fell under the just punishment of the neglect of his trust, for he was taken the first day of the rebellion, and was himself made a prisoner here. All but the Bishop were at first clapt into irons, for the Irish that were perpetually drunk, were afraid lest they should seize both on them and on the castle. Yet it pleased God so far to abate their fury, that they took off their irons, and gave them no disturbance in the worship of God, which was now all the comfort that was left them. The house was extremely open to the weather, and ruinous : and as the place was bare and exposed, so that winter was very severe ; which was a great addition to the misery of those that the rebels had stript naked, leaving to many not so much as a garment to cover their nakedness. But it pleased God to bring another prisoner to the same dungeon, that was of great use to them, one Richard Castledine, who had come over a poor carpenter to Ireland, with nothing but his tools on his back, and was first employed by

one Sir Richard Waldron in the carpentry work of a castle, that he was building in the parish of Cavan : but Sir Richard wasting his estate before he had finished his house, and afterward leaving Ireland, God had so blessed the industry of this Castledine, during thirty years' labour, that he bought this estate, and having only daughters, he married one of them out of gratitude, to Sir Richard's youngest son, to whom he intended to have given the estate that was his father's : he was a man of great virtue, and abounded in good works, as well as in exemplary piety : he was so good a husband that the Irish believed he was very rich ; so they preserved him, hoping to draw a great deal of money from him : he being brought to this miserable prison, got some tools and old boards, and fitted them up as well as was possible, to keep out the weather. The keepers of the prison brought their prisoners abundance of provision, but left them to dress it for themselves ; which they that knew little what belonged to cookery were glad to do in such a manner as might preserve their lives ; and were all of them much supported in their spirits. They did not suffer as evil doers, and they were not ashamed of the cross of Christ ; but rejoiced in God in the midst of all their afflictions ; and the old Bishop took joyfully the spoiling of his goods, and the restraint of his person, comforting himself in this, that these light afflictions would quickly work for him a more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. The day after his imprisonment, being the Lord's day, he preached to his little flock on the epistle for the day, which set before them the pattern of the humility and sufferings of Christ ; and on Christmas-day, he preached on Gal. iv. 4, 5, and administered the sacrament to the small congregation about him ; their keepers having been so charitable as to furnish them with bread and wine. And on the 26th of December, Mr. William Bedell, the Bishop's eldest son, preached on St. Stephen's last words, which afforded proper matter for their meditation, who were every day in expectation when they should be put to give such a testimony of their faith, as that first martyr had done : and on the 2d of January, which

was the last Sunday of their imprisonment, Mr. Clogy preached on St. Luke ii. 32, 33, 34. During all their religious exercises, their keepers never gave them any disturbance; and indeed they carried so gently towards them, that their natures seemed to be so much changed, that it looked like a second stopping the mouths of lions. They often told the Bishop, that they had no personal quarrel to him, and no other cause to be so severe to him, but because he was an Englishman.

But while he was in this dismal prison, some of the Scots of that county, that had retired to two houses, that were strong enough to resist any thing but cannon, and were commanded by Sir James Craig, Sir Francis Hamilton, and Sir Arthur Forbes, now Lord Grenard, finding themselves like to suffer more by hunger, than by the siege that was laid to them, made so resolute a sally upon the Irish, that they killed several, took some prisoners, and dispersed the rest, so that many months passed before they offered to besiege them any more. Among their prisoners four were men of considerable interest; so they treated an exchange of them for the Bishop, with his two sons and Mr. Clogy; which was concluded, and the prisoners were delivered on both sides on the 7th of January: but though the Irish promised to suffer the Bishop with the other three to go safe to Dublin, yet they would not let them go out of the country, but intended to make further advantage by having them still among them; and so they were suffered to go to the house of an Irish minister, Denis O Shereden, to whom some respect was shewed, by reason of his extraction, though he had forsaken their religion, and had married an English woman: he continued firm in his religion, and relieved many in their extremity. Here the Bishop spent the few remaining days of his pilgrimage, having his latter end so full in view, that he seemed dead to the world and every thing in it, and to be hasting for the coming of the day of God. During the last sabbaths of his life, though there were three ministers present, he read all the prayers and lessons himself, and likewise preached on all those days. On the 9th of January he preached on the whole 44th Psalm, being the first of the Psalms ap-

pointed for that day, and very suitable to the miseries the English were then in, who were killed all day long, as sheep appointed for meat. Next sabbath, which was the 16th, he preached on the 79th Psalm, the first Psalm for the day, which runs much on the like argument, when the temple was defiled, and Jerusalem was laid on heaps, and the dead bodies of God's servants were given to be meat to the fowls of heaven, and their flesh to the beasts of the earth, and their blood was shed like water, and there was none to bury them. Their condition being so like one another, it was very proper to put up that prayer, 'O remember not against us former iniquities: let thy tender mercies speedily prevent us, for we are brought very low.' Together with the other. 'Let the sighing of the prisoner come before thee, according to the greatness of thy power, preserve thou those that are appointed to die.' On the 23d, he preached on the last ten verses of the 71st Psalm, observing the great fitness that was in them to express his present condition, especially in these words, 'O God thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wonderous works: now also when I am old, and gray headed, forsake me not.' And on the 30th, which was the last Lord's day in which he had strength enough to preach, he preached on the 144th Psalm, the first appointed for that day, and when he came to the words in the seventh verse, which are also repeated in the eleventh verse, 'Send thine hand from above, rid me and deliver me out of great waters, from the hand of strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and whose right hand is a right hand of falsehood.' He repeated them again and again, with so much zeal and affection, that it appeared how much he was hastening to the day of God, and that his heart was crying out, 'Come Lord Jesus come quickly, how long, how long?' and he dwelt so long upon them, with so many sighs, that all the little assembly about him melted into tears, and looked on this as a presage of his approaching dissolution. And it proved too true, for the day after, he sickened; which on the second day after appeared to be an ague, and on the fourth day he apprehending

his speedy change, called for his sons, and his sons' wives, and spake to them at several times, as near in these words as their memories could serve them to write them down soon after.

‘ I am going the way of all flesh, I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand : knowing therefore that shortly I must put off this tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath shewed me, I know also that if this my earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, I have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, a fair mansion in the new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God. Therefore to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain ; which increaseth my desire, even now to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better, than to continue here in all the transitory, vain, and false pleasures of this world, of which I have seen an end. Harken therefore unto the last words of your dying father ; I am no more in this world, but ye are in the world ; I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God, through the all-sufficient merits of Jesus Christ my redeemer ; who ever lives to make intercession for me, who is a propitiation for all my sins, and washed me from them all in his own blood, who is worthy to receive glory and honour, and power, who hath created all things, and for whose pleasure they are and were created.

‘ My witness is in heaven, and my record on high, that I have endeavoured to glorify God on earth, and in the ministry of the gospel of his dear Son, which was committed to my trust ; I have finished the work, which he gave me to do, as a faithful ambassador of Christ, and steward of the mysteries of God. I have preached righteousness in the great congregation : Lo I have not refrained my lips, O Lord, thou knowest. I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart, I have declared thy faithfulness, and thy salvation ; I have not concealed thy loving kindness, and thy truth from the great congregation of mankind. He is near that justifieth me, that I have not concealed the words of the Holy One ; but the words that he gave to me, I

have given to you, and ye have received them. I had a desire and resolution to walk before God (in every station of my pilgrimage, from my youth up to this day) in truth and with an upright heart, and to do that which was upright in his eyes, to the utmost of my power; and what things were gain to me formerly, these things I count now loss for Christ; yea doubtless, and I account all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord; for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and I account them but dung, that I may win Christ, and be found in him, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith; that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death, I press therefore towards the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Jesus Christ.

‘ Let nothing separate you from the love of Christ, neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword; though (as ye hear and see) for his sake we are killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter: yet in all these things we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us; for I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any creature shall be able to separate me from the love of God in Christ Jesu my Lord. Therefore love not the world; nor the things of the world; but prepare daily and hourly for death (that now besiegeth us on every side), and be faithful unto death; that we may meet together joyfully on the right-hand of Christ at the last day, and follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth, with all those that are clothed with white robes, in sign of innocency, and palms in their hands in sign of victory; which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. They shall hunger no more nor thirst, neither shall the sun light on them, or any heat; for the Lamb, that is in

the midst of the throne, shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters, and shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

‘ Choose rather with Moses to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season ; which will be bitterness in the latter end. Look therefore for sufferings, and to be daily made partakers of the sufferings of Christ, to fill up that which is behind of the affliction of Christ in your flesh, for his body’s sake, which is the church. What can you look for, but one woe after another, while the man of sin is thus suffered to rage, and to make havock of God’s people at his pleasure, while men are divided about trifles, that ought to have been more vigilant over us, and careful of those, whose blood is precious in God’s sight, though now shed every where like water. If ye suffer for righteousness, happy are ye ; be not afraid of their terror, neither be ye troubled ; and be in nothing terrified by your adversaries ; which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For to you is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake. Rejoice therefore in as much as ye are partakers of Christ’s sufferings, that when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. And if ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye ; the Spirit of glory, and of Christ resteth on you. On their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified.

‘ God will surely visit you in due time, and return your captivity as the rivers of the South, and bring you back again into your possession in this land : though now for a season (if need be) ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations ; yet ye shall reap in joy, though now ye sow in tears : all our losses shall be recompensed with abundant advantages, for my God will supply all your need, according to his riches in glory by Jesus Christ, who is able to do exceeding abundantly for us, above all that we are able to ask or think.’

After that he blessed his children, and those that stood about him, in an audible voice, in these words :

‘ God of his infinite mercy bless you all, and present you holy, and unblamable, and unreprouable in his sight, that we may meet together at the right-hand of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, with joy unspeakable and full of glory, Amen.’ To which he added these words: ‘ I have fought a good fight, I have finished the course of my ministry and life together. Though grievous wolves have entered in among us, not sparing the flock; yet I trust the great Shepherd of his flock will save and deliver them out of all places, where they have been scattered in this cloudy and dark day; that they shall be no more a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beasts of the land devour them; but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid. O Lord, I have waited for thy salvation.’ And after a little interval, he said, ‘ I have kept the faith once given to the saints; for the which cause I have also suffered these things; but I am not ashamed, for I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day.’ After this time he spoke little; for as his sickness increased, his speech failed, and he slumbered out most of the time, only between hands it appeared that he was cheerfully waiting for his change; which at last came about midnight on the 7th of February, that he fell asleep in the Lord, and entered into his rest, and obtained his crown, which in some sort was a crown of martyrdom; for no doubt the sad weight of sorrow, that lay upon his mind, and his ill usage in his imprisonment, had much hastened his death: and he suffered more in his mind by what he had lived to hear and see these last fifteen weeks of his life, than he could have done, if he had fallen by the sword, among the first of those that felt the rage of the Irish. His friends went about his burying; and since that could not be obtained, but by the new intruding Bishop’s leave, Mr. Clogy and Mr. Shereden went to ask it, and Mr. Dillon was prevailed with by his wife, to go and second their desire. They found the Bishop lying in his own vomit, and saw a sad change in that house, which was before a house of prayer, and of good works; but was now a

den of thieves, and a nest of uncleanness. The Bishop, when he was awakened out of his drunkenness, excepted a little to it, and said, the church-yard was holy ground, and was no more to be defiled with heretics' bodies; yet he consented to it at last. So on the 9th of February he was buried according to the direction himself had given, next his wife's coffin. The Irish did him unusual honours at his burial, for the chief of the rebels gathered their forces together, and with them accompanied his body from Mr. Shereden's house to the church-yard of Kilmore, in great solemnity, and they desired Mr. Clogy to bury him according to the office prescribed by the church; but though the gentlemen were so civil as to offer it, yet it was not thought advisable to provoke the rabble so much, as perhaps that might have done; so it was past over. But the Irish discharged a volley of shot at his interment, and cried out in Latin, 'Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum, May the last of the English rest in peace:' for they had often said, that as they esteemed him the best of the English bishops, so he should be the last that should be left among them.*

Thus lived and died this excellent Bishop; in whom so many of the greatest characters of a primitive and apostolical bishop did shew themselves so eminently, that it seemed fit that he should still speak to the world, though dead, both for convincing the unjust enemies of that venerable order, and for the instruction of those that succeed him in it; since great patterns give the easiest notions of eminent virtues, and teach in a way that has much more authority with it than all speculative discourses can possibly have. And as the lives of the primitive Christians were a speaking apology for their religion, as well as a direction to those that grew up; so it is to be hoped that the solemn though silent language of so bright an example will

* The following anecdote was communicated by Mr. Bedell Stanford, a near relation of the Bishop's:—'Bishop Bedell had a tenant (a popish priest), his name Edmund Ferrily, he was fond of the man, and for his good qualities and agreeable conversation, had him frequently at his table, they often chose religion for their topic, and the arguments made use of by the Bishop had such influence on the Priest, that he was heard to say at the Bishop's interment, "O sit anima mea cum Bedello!"'

have the desired effect both ways : and then my author will have a noble reward for his labours. To this I shall add a little of his character.

He was a tall and graceful person ; there was something in his looks and carriage that discovered what was within, and created a veneration for him. He had an unaffected gravity in his deportment, and decent simplicity in his dress and apparel. He had a long and broad beard ; for my author never saw a razor pass upon his face. His gray hairs were a crown to him, both for beauty and honour. His strength continued firm to the last ; so that the week before his last sickness, he walked about as vigorously and nimbly as any of the company, and leapt over a broad ditch ; so that his sons were amazed at it, and could scarce follow him. His eyes continued so good, that he never used spectacles, nor did he suffer any decay in any of his natural powers, only by a fall in his childhood he had contracted a deafness in his left ear. He had great strength and health of body, except that a few years before his death, he had some severe fits of the stone, that his sedentary course of life seemed to have brought on him, which he bore with wonderful patience. The best remedy that he found for it was to dig in his garden till he had very much heated himself, by which he found a mitigation of his pain. He took much pleasure in a garden, and having brought over some curious instruments out of Italy, for racemation, engrafting, and inoculating, he was a great master in the use of them.

His judgment and memory, as they were extraordinary, so they remained with him to the last. He always preached without notes, but often writ down his meditations after he had preached them. He did not affect to shew any other learning in his sermons, but what was proper for opening his text, and clearing the difficulties in it ; which he did by comparing the originals with the most ancient versions. His style was clear and full, but plain and simple ; for he abhorred all affectations of pompous rhetoric in sermons, as contrary to the simplicity of Christ. His sermons did all drive at the great design of infusing in the

hearts of his hearers right apprehensions and warm thoughts of the great things of the Christian religion ; which he did with so much the more authority, because it appeared that he was much moved himself with those things that he delivered to others. He was always at work in his study, when the affairs of his function did not lead him out of it. In which his chief employment was the study of the text of the scripture. He read the Hebrew and the Septuagint so much, that they were as familiar to him as the English translation. He read every morning the Psalms appointed by the Common Prayer for the day in Hebrew ; or if his son, or any other that was skilled in the Hebrew, was present, he read one verse out of the Hebrew, turning it into Latin, and the other read the next, and so by turns till they went through them. He had gathered a vast heap of critical expositions of Scripture. All this, with his other manuscripts, of which there was a great trunk full, fell into the hands of the Irish. He had writ very learned paraphrases and sermons on all those parts of Scripture that were prescribed to be read in the second service, but all these are lost. His great Hebrew manuscript was happily rescued out of the hands of those devourers of all sacred things, and is to this day preserved in the library of Emmanuel College : for an Irishman whom he had converted, went among his countrymen and brought out that and a few other books to him.

Every day after dinner and supper, there was a chapter of the Bible read at his table, whosoever were present, Protestants or Papists, and Bibles were laid down before every one of the company, and before himself either the Hebrew or Greek, and in his last years the Irish translation was laid, and he usually explained the difficulties that occurred. He writ many books of controversy ; which was chiefly occasioned by the engagements that lay on him, to labour much in the conversion of persons of the Roman communion ; and the knowledge he had of that church, and their way of worship, by what he had seen and observed while he was at Venice, raised in him a great zeal against their corruptions. He not only

looked on that church as idolatrous, but as the Antichristian Babylon; concerning which St. John saw all those visions in the Revelation: and of this the sermon, out of which I have made some extracts, gives evidence. He writ a large treatise in answer to those two questions, in which the missionaries of that communion triumph so much, 'Where was our religion before Luther? and what became of our ancestors that died in Popery?' Archbishop Usher pressed him to have printed it, and he had resolved to do it, but that, with all his other works, was swallowed up in the rebellion. He kept a great correspondence, not only with the divines of England, but with many others over Europe; for he writ both Latin, and Latin very elegantly. He was very free in his conversation, but talked seldom of indifferent matters; he expressed a great modesty of spirit, and a moderation of temper in every thing he spoke, and his discourse still turned to somewhat that made his company useful and instructing. He spoke his own thoughts very plainly, and as he bore well with the freedom of others, so he took all the discreet liberty that became a man of his age and station, and did not stick to tell even the learned and worthy Primate Usher, such things as he thought were blameworthy in him, and with the same sincerity he shewed him some critical mistakes that he met with in some of his works. They were very few, and not of any great importance; but they did not agree with the Primate's exactness in other things, and so he laid them before him; which the other took from him with that kindness and humility that was natural to him. His habit was decent and grave; he wore no silk, but plain stuffs; the furniture of his house was not pompous nor superfluous, but necessary for common use, and proper. His table was well covered, according to the plenty that was in the country, but there was no luxury in it. Great resort was made to him, and he observed a true hospitality in house-keeping. Many poor Irish families about him were maintained out of his kitchen: and in the Christmas time he had the poor always eating with him at his own table; and he brought himself to en-

ture both the sight of their rags, and their rudeness: he was not forward to speak, and he expressed himself in very few words in public companies. At public tables he usually sat silent. Once at the Earl of Strafford's table, one observed, that while they were all talking, he said nothing. So the Primate answered, broach him, and you will find good liquor in him; upon which that person proposed a question in divinity to him, and in answering it the Bishop shewed both his own sufficiency so well, and puzzled the other so much, that all at table, except the Bishop himself, fell a laughing at the other. The greatness of his mind, and the undauntedness of his spirit on all occasions has appeared very evidently in many of the passages of his life; but though that height of mind is often accompanied with a great mixture of pride, nothing of that appeared in the Bishop. He carried himself towards all people with such a gaining humility, that he got into their hearts: he lived with his clergy as if they had been his brethren: when he went his visitations, he would not accept of the invitations that were made him by the great men of the country, but would needs eat with his brethren in such poor inns, and of such coarse fare, as the places afforded. A person of quality, that had prepared an entertainment for him during his visitation, took his refusing it so ill, that whereas the Bishop promised to come and see him after dinner, as soon as he came near his gate, which was standing open, it was presently shut, on design to affront him, and he was kept half an hour knocking at it: the affront was visible, and when some would have had him go away, he would not do it, but said, 'They will hear ere long.' At last the master came out, and received him with many shows of civility, but he made a very short visit, and though the rudeness he met with prevailed not on him, either to resent it, or to go away upon it, yet it appeared that he understood it well enough. He avoided all affectations of state or greatness in his carriage: he went about always on foot, when he was at Dublin, one servant only attending on him, except on public occasions, that obliged him to ride in procession among his

brethren. He never kept a coach; for his strength continued so entire, that he was always able to ride on horseback: he avoided the affectations of humility as well as of pride; the former often flowing from the greater pride of the two, and amidst all those extraordinary talents, with which God had blessed him, it never appeared that he overvalued himself, nor despised others; that he assumed to himself a dictatorship, or was impatient of contradiction. He took an ingenious device to put him in mind both of his obligations to purity and humility: it was a flaming crucible with this motto in Hebrew, 'Take from me all my tin.' The word in Hebrew that signifies *tin*, was *bedil*. This imported that he thought that every thing in himself was but base alloy, and therefore he prayed that God would cleanse him from it. His great humility made the secreter parts of his goodness, as to his private walking with God, less known, except as they appeared in that best and surest indication of it, which his life and conversation gave; yet if the rebels had not destroyed all his papers, there would have been found among them great discoveries of this; for he kept a daily journal for many years; but of what sort it was, how full, and how particular, is only known to God; since no man ever saw it, unless some of the rebels found it. Though it is not probable that they would have taken the pains to examine his papers, it being more likely that they destroyed them all in a heap. He never thought of changing his see, or of rising up to a more advantageous bishopric, but considered himself as under a tie to his see, that could not be easily dissolved. So that when the translating him to a bishopric in England was proposed to him, he refused it, and said, he should be as troublesome a bishop in England, as he had been in Ireland.

It appeared he had a true and generous notion of religion, and that he did not look upon it so much as a system of opinions, or a set of forms, as a divine discipline that reforms the heart and life; and therefore when some men were valued upon their zeal for some lesser matters, he had those words of St. Augustine's often in his mouth, 'It is not leaves but fruit that I

seek.' This was the true principle of his great zeal against Popery: it was not the peevishness of a party, the sourness of speculative man, nor the concern of an interested person, that wrought on him: but he considered the corruptions of that church, as an effectual course for enervating the true design of Christianity; and this he not only gathered from speculation, but from what he saw and knew during his long abode in Italy. His devotion in his closet was only known to him, who commanded him to pray in secret. In his family he prayed always thrice a day, in a set form, though he did not read it: this he did in the morning, and before dinner, and after supper: and he never turned over this duty, or the short devotions before and after meat, on his chaplain, but was always his own chaplain. He looked upon the obligation of observing the sabbath as moral and perpetual, and considered it as so great an engine for carrying on the true ends of religion, that as he would never go into the liberties that many practised on that day; so he was exemplary in his own exact observation of it; preaching always twice, and catechising once; and besides that, he used to go over the sermons again in his family, and sing psalms, and concluded all with prayer.

As for his domestic concerns, he married one of the family of the L'Estranges, that had been before married to the Recorder of St. Edmondsbury: she proved to be in all respects a very fit wife for him; she was exemplary for her life, humble and modest in her habit and behaviour, and was singular in many excellent qualities, particularly in a very extraordinary reverence that she paid him: she bore him four children, three sons and a daughter, but one of the sons and the daughter died young, so none survived but William and Ambrose. The just reputation his wife was in for her piety and virtue, made him choose that for the text of her funeral sermon, 'A good name is better than ointment.' She died of a lethargy three years before the rebellion broke out; and he himself preached her funeral sermon, with such a mixture both of tenderness and moderation, that it touched the whole con-

gregation so much, that there were very few dry eyes in the church all the while. He did not like the burying in the church; for, as he observed, there was much both of superstition and pride in it, so he believed it was a great annoyance to the living, when there was so much of the steam of dead bodies rising about them; he was likewise much offended at the rudeness which the crowding the dead bodies in a small parcel of ground occasioned; for the bodies already laid there, and not yet quite rotten, were often raised and mangled; so that he made a canon in his synod against burying in churches, and as he often wished that burying-places were removed out of all towns, so he did choose the most remote and least frequented place of the church-yard of Kilmore for his wife, and by his will he ordered that he should be laid next her with this bare inscription,

Depositum Gulielmi quondam Episcopi Kilmorensis.

Depositum cannot bear an English translation, it signifying 'somewhat given to another in trust,' so he considered his burial as a trust left in the earth till the time that it shall be called on to give up its dead.

The modesty of that inscription adds to his merit, which those who knew him well, believe exceeds even all that this his zealous and worthy friend does through my hands convey to the world for his memory, which will outlive the marble or the brass, and will make him ever to be reckoned one of the speaking and lasting glories, not only of the episcopal order, but of the age in which he lived, and of the two nations, England and Ireland, between whom he was so equally divided, that it is hard to tell which of them has the greatest share in him. Nor must his honour stop here, he was a living apology, both for the reformed religion, and the Christian doctrine: and both he that collected these memorials of him, and he that copies them out, and publishes them, will think their labours very happily employed, if the reading them produces any of those good effects that are intended by them.

As for his two sons, he was satisfied to provide for them in so modest a way, as shewed that he neither

aspired to high things on their behalf, nor did he consider the revenue of the church as a property of his own, out of which he might raise a great estate for them. He provided his eldest son with a benefice of 80*l.* a-year, in which he laboured with that fidelity that became the son of such a father; and his second son, not being a man of letters, had a little estate of 60*l.* a year given him by the Bishop; which was the only purchase that I hear he made; and I am informed, that he gave nothing to his eldest son but that benefice, which he so well deserved. So little advantage did he give to the enemies of the church; either to those of the church of Rome, against the marriage of the clergy, or to the dividers among ourselves, against the revenues of the church: the one sort objecting that a married state made the clergy covetous, in order to the raising their families, and the others pretending that the revenues of the church being converted by clergymen into temporal estates for their children, it was no sacrilege to invade that which was generally no less abused by churchmen, than it could be by laymen; since these revenues are trusted to the clergy as depositaries, and not given to them as proprietors.

May the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls, so inspire all that are the overseers of that flock, which he purchased with his own blood, that in imitation of all those glorious patterns that are in church-history, and of this in the last age, that is inferior to very few that any former age produced, they may watch over the flock of Christ, and so feed and govern them, that the mouths of all adversaries may be stopped, that this apostolical order recovering its primitive spirit and vigour, it may be received and obeyed with that same submission and esteem, that was paid to it in former times: and that all differences about lesser matters being laid down, peace and truth may again flourish, and the true ends of religion and church-government may be advanced, and that instead of biting, devouring, and consuming one another, as we do, we may all build up one another in our most holy faith.

APPENDIX.

SOME PAPERS RELATED TO IN THE FORMER HISTORY.

No. I.

Gulielmus Providentiâ Divinâ, Kilmorensis Episcopus, dilecto in Christo, A. B. Fratri et Synpresbytero salutem.

* ‘AD Vicariam perpetuam Ecclesiæ parochialis de C. nostræ Kilmorensis Diœcesios jam legitimè vacantem, et ad nostram collationem pleno jure spectantem, præstito per te prius juramento de agnoscenda et defendenda Regiæ Majestatis suprema protestate in omnibus causis tam ecclesiasticis quam civilibus, intra ditiones suas, deque Anglicano ordine, habitu et Lingua pro Viribus in dictam parochiam introducendis, juxta formam statutorum hujus regni; necnon de perpetua et personali residentia tua in Vicaria prædicta, quodque nullum aliud beneficium ecclesiasticum una cum ea retinebis: deque canonica obedientia nobis ac successoribus nostris Episcopis Kilmorens. præstanda, te admittimus, instituimus et canonicè investimus: curamque animarum parochionarum, ibidem commorantium, tibi committimus, per presentes. Obtestantes in Domino, et pro obedientia qua summo pastori teneris injungentes: ut ejus Gregem quem suo sanguine acquisivit, tibi commissum, diligenter pascas, et in fide Catholica instituas, officia divina Lingua à populo intellecta, peragas; exemplar ante omnia te ipsum præbeas fidelibus in bonis operibus, ut erubescant adversarii, nihil habentes quod in te reprehendant. Mandantes insuper dilecto Fratri, Thomæ Archidiacono Kilmorensi, ut te in realem et actuaalem possessionem dictæ Vicariæ de C. inducat, cum effectum, in quorum omnium fidem et testimonium sigillum nostrum Episcopale præsentibus apposuiamus. Datum septimo die Maii, anno Salutis 1640.

GULIEL. KILMORENSIS.’

* See p. 137.

No. II.

DECRETA PRIMÆ SYNODI KILMORENSIS.

In nomine Domini Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.

* REGNANTE in perpetuum, ac gubernante Ecclesiam suam, eodem Domino nostro Jesu Christo, annoque imperii, serenissimi Principis ac Domini Caroli, Dei gratia, Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae Regis, decimo quarto, cum ad Ecclesiam Cathedralē Kilmorensē, monitu Gulielmi Episcopi convenisset Capitulum totius Diœcesios, ad Synodum Diœcesianam celebrandam, post fusas ad Deum Preces pro publica pace, Regisque, et Familiæ Regiæ incolumitate, et peracta sacra Synaxi, verba fecit Episcopus de ejusmodi Synodorum Antiquitate, necessitate et Authoritate, et cum venisset in consultationem, quibus rationibus, et fidei sinceritas, et morum sanctitas, et decor Domus Dei, et Ministrorum libertas conservari posset, nihil conducibilius visum est, quam ut ea quæ à Patribus bene ac prudenter Antiquitus instituta sunt, quasi postliminii jure revocarentur, atque tractatu inter nos habito, ad extremum, in hæc capitula unanimiter consensum est.

I. Synodum Diœcesianam sive Capitulum quotannis tertia et quarta feria secundæ hebdomadæ Mensis Septembris in Ecclesia Kilmorensi tenendam, eum diem huic conventui statum, et solennem fore sine ullo mandato; si res poscat in cæteris ordinationum temporibus Presbyterium contrahi, Episcopi mandatum expectandum.

II. In Episcopi absentia aut morbo, Vicarius ejus si Presbyter fuerit, præsidebit, alioqui Archidiaconus qui de jure Vicarius est Episcopi.

III. Vicarius Episcopi in posterum nullus constituatur aut confirmetur qui laicus est, nec quisquam prorsus nisi durante duntaxat beneplacito.

IV. Ut Archidiaconus de triennio in triennium diœcesin personaliter visitet, singularum ecclesiarum, ædiumque mansionalium sarta tacta tueatur, libros et ornamenta in indiculo descriptos habeat, defectus omnes supplendos curet; episcopalis procurationis di-

midium habeat, eo conditione ut Episcopus illo anno non visitet.

V. Ut secundum pristinam et antiquam hujus diœcesios Kilmorensis constitutionem in tribus ejus regionibus, tres decani sint, ab ipsis ministris ejusdem decanatus eligendi, qui vitam et mores cleri jugi circumspeditione custodiant, et ad episcopum referant, ejusque mandata accipiant, et quoties opus erit per apparitorem decanatus ad compresbyteros suos transmittant.

VI. In quovis decanatu, in oppido ejus principali, conventus, sive capitulum sit ministrorum quolibet saltem mense, ubi lectis plene publicis precibus, concionentur per vices sine longis precibus et procemiis.

VII. Advocationes ecclesiarum nondum vacantium quæ ad collationem episcopi spectant, nemini conferantur aut confirmentur.

VIII. Possessiones ecclesiæ non alienentur aut locentur contra regni jura, nempe terrarum mensalium nulla sit locatio, nisi quoad episcopus in sede aut vita supersit, cæterarum in plures annos, quam leges sinunt, aut prioribus locationibus, triennio minus nondum expletis.

IX. Ut corpora defunctorum deinceps in ecclesiis non humentur, sed nec intra quintum pedem à pariete extrorsum.

X. Ut mulieres in Sacrario non sedeant, sed infra cancellos, et quidem à viris.

XI. Ut Sacrarium in consistorium non convertatur, aut sacra mensa Notariis aut Scribis sit pro pluteo.

XII. Ne in funeribus mulieres luctum aut ullulatum facient.

XIII. Ut ossa defunctorum in cœmeteriis non coarcentur, sed tradantur sepulturæ.

XIV. Ut matricula sit, in quam referantur nomina eorum qui ad sacros ordines admissi sunt, aut instituti, aut admissi ad beneficia, sive curam animarum coaptati; clericorum item parochialium et ludimagistrorum, neque deinceps ad literas testimoniales in visitationibus exhibendas adigatur.

XV. Ne quis minister oblationes ad funera, baptismum, eucharistiam, nuptias, post puerperium; aut portionem canonicam cuiquam, locet.

XVI. Ne quis ejusmodi oblata acerbe exigat, præsertim à pauperibus.

XVII. Ut fas sit ministro à sacra cœna repellere eos qui se ingerunt ad synaxin, neque nomina sua pridie paracho significarunt.

XVIII. Ut pueri saltem à septimo ætatis anno, donec confirmentur per manuum impositionem, stent inter catechumenos, factoque catalogo, singulis dominicis certus eorum numerus sistatur in ecclesia examinandus.

XIX. Si quis minister quenquam ex fratribus suis alibi accusaverit priusquam episcopo denunciaret, ab ejus consortio cæteri omnes abstinebunt.

XX. Clerici comam ne nutrant, et habitu clericali prout synodo Dubliniensi institutum est, incedant.

XXI. Œconomi parochiarum provideant ne in ecclesia tempore cultus divini pueruli discursent, utque canes arceantur, constitutis ostiariis, vel multa imposita, si quis semel atque iterum admonitus canem secum in ecclesiam introduxerit.

Ut nulla excommunicationis sententia feratur ab uno solo ministro, sed ab episcopo, assistantibus quotquot in capitulo fuerint presentes.

Hæc Decreta Synodalia, quoniam ex usu hujus Diœcesios futura credimus, et ipsi observabimus, et quantum in nobis est ab aliis observanda curabimus, adeoque Manus suæ quisque subscriptione corroboremus.

Sept. 13, 1636.

No. III.

Recusatio 24, Articulorum Episcopi Kilmorensis.

CORAM vobis venerabilibus Virgis Georgio Riv. Legum Doctore, et Gulielmo Hilton Artium Magistro, Reverendissimi in Christo Patris Jacobi providentia divina Armachani Archiepiscopi, totius Hiberniæ Primatis, nec non Judicis, Præsidis sive Commissarii curiæ Regiæ Prærogativæ pro causis Ecclesiasticis, et ad facultates in et per totum regnum Hiberniæ, Regia auctoritate legitime constituti, substitutis sive surrogatis, ut vulgo creditur, Ego Gulielmus Kilmorensis episcopus cum debita vobis reverentia propono, quod licet ante hoc exceptionem quandam declinatoriam juris-

dictionis vestræ in quadam prætensa causa duplicis querelæ mota à Gulielmo Bayly clerico Diœcesios Kilmorensis justis de causis interposuerim, ac nominatim propter incompetentiam fori, per absentiam Reverendissimi Præsidis, et suspicionem animi vestri in me iniqui, quas etiam coram eodem Reverendissimo Præsidente, aliisve, æquis arbitris probandas in me recepi, ac licet etiam pro parte mea, venerabilem virum Edwardum Parry sacræ Theologiæ Professore elegerim ac nominaverim: Vos tamen dictæ recusationi meæ non modo deferre recusastis, sed novis insuper et pluribus indiciis animum vestrum mihi infensum prodidistis; ea propter ego episcopus antedictus animo non prorogandi, sed expressius et particularius contra jurisdictionem et personas vestras excipiendo, dico et allego.

I. Imprimis quod prætensa querela dicti Gulielmi Bayly oritur ex sententia quadam in causa correctionis ex officio meo episcopali, et jussu illustrissimi Proregis, in quasi modum excesserim, legitima appellatio erat ad Synodum Provinciæ, vel consistorium Archiepiscopale.

II. Quod dictus Bayly à Sententia prædicta judicialiter et viva voce appellavit, unde servato ordine jurisdictionum ex decreto nuperi Synodi Dublinensis causæ cognitio, omisso intermedio archiepiscopali consistorio, devolvi non potest ad hanc curiam.

III. Quod firmamentum defensionis dicti Bayly nititur facultate quadam ab hac curia concessa; cum vero nemo sit idoneus judex in propria causa, satis inverecunde vos hic inquiritis.

IV. Quod regię majestati cognitio abusivarum facultatum in ipsa lege reservatur expressis verbis, ut hoc forum vestrum, à quo ejusmodi facultates emanant, huic rei incompetens sit.

V. Quod sub nomine reverendissimi Primatis Armachani delitescentes tenorem commissionis vestræ non inseritis citationibus vestris, ut nesciatur nedum quod, aut quatenus vobis commissum sit, set an omnino ab ipso surrogati.

VI. Quod jurisdictione vestra non fundata, illud satis scitur, homines vere laicos in episcopos ex executione episcopalis officii nullam habere protestatem.

VII. Quod litem vestram facitis, dum in citatione

vestra, narratis à me gesta in prejudicium jurisdictionis curiæ Regiæ prærogativæ, et ad facultates cedere, ejusque contemptum, ex quo constat (fatente actore) hanc causam ad commodum et honorem vestrum spectare.

VIII. Quod ut quoquo modo processum vestrum defendatis, fingitis causam esse duplicis querelæ, cum nullasit hic mutua petitio aut reconventio aut querela, nisi simplex tantum.

IX. Quod nimium favorem et propensitatem ad partem dicti Gulielmi Bayly ostendatis, cum probum virum et disertum appellatis causa nondum discussa; cum accusatorem episcopi sui, canones ecclesiastici, nec laudandum, nec facile audiendum, et nisi causam probaverit, infamem haberi volunt.

X. Quod causa nondum audita in ea pronunciastis, dum dictum Bayly, vicarium de Dyne appellatis, qua tamen vicaria se à me spoliatum conqueritur.

XI. Quod vetus mihi litigium est vobiscum super institutionibus (quas hæc curia usurpavit), ex quo in admissione Nicolai Prenard ad Vicarium de Kildromferton, protestationem interposui, quam tu Gulielme Hilton indignè tulisti, eaque non obstante, et illum, et multos alios instituisti, reclamantibus episcopis, quo nomine ergo, iniqui estis, non mihi tantum, sed æque omnibus.

XII. Quod cum nuper de prima citatione vestra conquestus essem apud illustrissimum Præsidem in qua Majestas læsa videbatur, vos ea de causa, haud dissimulanter iratos habui.

XIII. Quod comparentem ex ea citatione, ad tribunal vestrum, expectare et per sesquiboram inambulare, tanquam ex infima plebecula coegistis.

XIV. Quod cum proximo, die juridico à vobis dimissus essem sub hac formula, quod me non moraremini, quod nihil habuistis mihi objiciendum, tu tamen Gulielme Hilton post paulo dixisti futurum ut denuo citarer, ex quo consiliorum communicationem cum dicto Gulielmo Bayly prodidisti.

XV. Quod cum secunda citatio minus succederit, perperam facta, sub nomine Episcopi Lismorensis, tu dem Gulielme Hilton actorem admonuisti, ut de integro inciperet.

XVI. Quod cum tertio citatus recusationem quandam jurisdictionis vestræ, opposuissém propter incompetentiam et suspicionem, quarum causas paratus eram coram arbitris ostendere, vos jam non admisistis ut oportuit, sed in proximum diem juridicum super ea deliberastis.

XVII. Quod quarto citatum ad audiendum voluntatem vestram super recusatione prædicta cum cerne-
retis ad tribunal vestrum appropinquantem, surrexistis illico, et quanquam nec auditorio egressi eratis, nec præco populum missum fecisset, nec hora effluerat, renuistis me episcopum antedictum comparentem audire, ut haberetis aliquem colorem me contumacem pronunciandi.

XVIII. Quod cum proximo die juridico comparuissem, et contumaciam mihi falso impositam purgassem, et iterata prædicta recusatione et arbitrum probationis pro parte mea reverendum virum Edwardum Parry sacræ theologiæ professorem nominassem, vos hæc admittere recusastis, sed me ad libellum accipiendum et procuratorem constituendum adigere voluistis.

XIX. Quod in acta curiæ referri curastis, me non comparuisse, et in iisdem narratis tamen, me præsentem admonitum fuisse de comparando de die in diem usque ad finem litis, in altero imperite, in altero inepte, in utroque (salva reverentia vobis debita) injuste.

XX. Quod sigillum officii curiæ Regiæ prærogativæ, et ad facultates, dispensationibus circa pluralitatem beneficiorum et residentiam temerarie profusis, et interdum legi divinæ repugnantibus apponitis.

XXI. Quod episcoporum jurisdictionem et ordinariam et excitatam à supremo magistratu impedire, ipsos ad tribunal vestrum protrahere, vexare et vilipendere non veremini.

XXII. Quod eorum jura episcopalia in institutionibus notorie usurpastis.

XXIII. Quod rescripta conceditis, in quibus multa, quoad sensum inepta, quoad verba incongrua continentur, quibus ideo de jure nulla fides adhibenda sit; cujusmodi sunt quæ sub sigillo vestro in hac causa emanarunt.

XXIV. Quod nuper in hac eadem causa, sigillum

vestrum literis, in quibus Regia Majestas læsa fuerit, apponebatur minus discrete, ne quid gravius dicam, judex tamen indiscretus quoad recusationem iniquo æquiparatur.—Has ob causas, quas omnes aut earum plurimas ego episcopus antedictus coram æquis arbitris verificare paratus sum (adeoque reverendum virum Edwardum Parry, S. Theologiæ Doctorem, ex parte mea nomino) vestrum tribunal, absente reverendo præside, vestrasque personas, tanquam mihi merito in hac causa suspectas, declino et recuso ad quemcunque juris effectum.

Dublin, anno Dom. 1638.

NO. IV.

*Reverendo in Christo Fratri Eugenio Gulielmus
Ecclesiæ Kilmorensis Minister S. P.*

‘BENIGNE tu quidem (reverende Frater) qui tua præsentia te mihi offers in hoc tumultu præsidio fore. Nec ego in re simili impar tibi in hoc charitatis officio deprehenderer. Sed quo minus hoc tuo beneficio utar in præsentia, multis impediior. In primis loci angustis, tum calamitosorum omnis ordinis, sextus, ætatis, numero; qui huc tanquam ad asylum confugiunt. Accedit quorundam et inter hos filii mei invaletudo. Quod caput est, non religionis inter nos (unica nempe ea est et communis Christiana, quod ego semper et sensi et scriptis professus sum) sed cultus disparitas: nos nempe in ejusmodi miseriis, lectione Sacrarum Scripturarum, precibus assiduis lingua vernacula ad Deum fusis, nos ipsos solamur; et quando in humanis tam parum fidei est, fidem et opem Divinam imploramus. Ea res si non te, at comites tuos offenderet, nec prohiberi possent, qui te hic commorantem visitare se velle dicerent: Quo pretextu circumcelliones isti irrumperent, qui cum cætera omnia nostra deripuerunt, ad extremum, se nece nostra cultum Deo gratum exhibituros opinantur. Mihi igitur certum est in divino præsidio acquiescere, Christiano homini et quidem episcopo jam pene septuagenario, Christi causa, nulla mors acerba esse potest, nulla non oppetenda. Interea si quid tibi visum fuerit interdicere apud populum sub anathemate; ne deinceps, concussis, spoliatis, toties

exutis vim adferant (mihi nempe soli nihil posco), rem facies Deo gratam, tibi honorificam, populo isti (si tibi obtemperaverit) salutarem; sin minus, at sperate Deum memorem. Cui te, reverende Frater, ex animo commendo.

Tuus in Christo,

G. KILMORENSIS.'

' Nov. 11. 1641.'

No. V.

An Advertisement concerning a Character given by Sir Henry Wotton of F. Paul, the Author of the History of the Council of Trent.

SINCE there was so particular a mention made of Father Paul in the former Life, I thought it would not be unacceptable to the reader to see a character that was given of him by Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter that he writ from Venice to the famous and learned Dr. Collins, the King's Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, which is not printed in his Remains: and therefore I hoped it would be received with the entertainment that is due to every thing that comes from such a hand, and is writ on such a subject. And we may better depend on characters that are given in private letters to friends, than in more studied eulogies, where the heat either of friendship or eloquence is apt to carry a man too far; but letters that pass among friends are colder and more careless things, and therefore they ought to be the less suspected.

'SIR,

' Though my feet cannot perform that counsel which I remember from some translation in Siracides, "Teras limen sensati viri;" yet I should at least have often visited you with my poor lines: but on the other side, while I durst not trust mine own conceit in the power of my present infirmity, and therefore have seldom written to any; I find myself in the mean time overcharged with divers letters from you of singular kindness, and one of them accompanied with a dainty peaceful piece; which truly I had not seen before, so as besides the weight of the subject, it was welcome even for the grace of newness. Yet let me tell you,

could not but somewhat wonder to find our spiritual Seneca (you know whom I mean) among these reconcilers, having read a former treatise of his (if my memory fail me not) of a contrary complexion. Howsoever, let him now have his due praise with the rest, for shewing his Christian wisdom and charity. But I fear, as it was anciently said of a Roman general, that *bellum sese alit*, so it will prove, though in somewhat a different sense, likewise as true of this church-warfare, that the very pleasure of contending will foment contention till the end of all flesh. But let me leave that sacred business to our well-meaning fathers.

‘And now, sir, having a fit messenger, and being not long after the time when love-tokens use to pass between friends, let me be bold to send you for a new-year’s gift, a certain memorial not altogether unworthy of some entertainment under your roof, namely a true picture of Padre Paulo the Servite, which was first taken by a painter, whom I sent unto him from my house, then neighbouring this monastery. I have newly added thereunto a title of mine own conception,* and had sent the frame withal if it were portable, which is but of plain deal coloured black, like the habit of his order. You have a luminous parlour, which I have good cause to remember, not only by delicate fare, and freedom (the prince of dishes), but above all your own learned discourse; for to dine with you is to dine with many good authors. In that room, I beseech you to allow it a favourable place for my sake.

‘And that you may have somewhat to tell of him more than a bare image, if any shall ask, as in the table of Cebes; I am desirous to characterize a little unto you such part of his nature, customs, and abilities, as I had occasion to know by sight or inquiry. He was one of the humblest things that could be seen within the bounds of humanity, the very pattern of that precept, “Quanto doctior, tanto submissior;” and enough alone to demonstrate that knowledge well digested *non inflat*; excellent in positive, excellent in scholastical and polemical divinity; a rare mathematician, even in the

* Concil. Trident. *èviscerator*.

most abstruse parts thereof; as in algebra and the theories; and yet withal so expert in the history of plants, as if he had never perused any book but nature: lastly, a great canonist, which was the title of his ordinary service with the state: and certainly in the time of the Pope's interdict they had their principal light from him. When he was either reading or writing alone, his manner was to sit fenced with a castle of paper about his chair, and over head; for he was of our Lord of St. Alban's opinion, that all air is predatory, and especially hurtful, when the spirits are most employed. You will find a scar in his face, that was from a Roman assassinate that would have killed him, as he was turned to the wall near his convent; and if there were not a greater providence about us, it might often have been easily done, especially upon such a weakly and wearish body. He was of a quiet and settled temper, which made him prompt in his counsels and answers, and the same in consultations which Themistocles was in action, as will appear unto you in a passage between him and the Prince of Conde. The said prince, in a voluntary journey toward Rome, came to Venice, where, to give some vent to his own humours, he would often divest himself of his greatness, and after other less laudable curiosities, not long before his departure, a desire took him to visit the famous obscure Servite, to whose cloister coming twice, he was the first time denied to be within; at the second it was intimated, that by reason of his daily admission to their deliberatives in the place, he could not receive the visit of so illustrious a personage, without leave from the Senate, which he would seek to procure. This set a great edge on the Prince, when he saw he should confer with one participant of more than monkish speculations: so after leave gotten, he came the third time, and there, besides other voluntary discourse (which it were a tyranny over you to repeat) he assailed with a question, enough to have troubled any man but himself, and him too, if a precedent accident had not eased him. The question was this: he desired to be told by him before his going away, who was the true unmasked author of the late Tridentine History. You

must know, that but newly advertisement was come from Rome, that the Archbishop of Spalato being there arrived from England, in an interview between him and the Cardinal Ludovisio, nephew to Gregory XV. the said cardinal, after a complimentary welcoming of him into the lap of the church, told him by order from the Pope, that his holiness would expect from him some recantation in print, as an antidote against certain books and pamphlets, which he had published whilst he stood in revolt, namely, his first Manifesto : item, Two Sermons preached at the Italian church in London. Again, a little treatise, entitled Scogli. And lastly, his great volumes about Church Regiment and Controversies : these were all named ; for as touching the Tridentine History, his holiness, saith the Cardinal, will not press you to any disavowment thereof, though you have an epistle before the original edition, because we know well enough that friar Paulo is the father of that brat. Upon this last piece of the aforesaid advertisement the good father came fairly off ; for on a sudden, laying all together, that to disavow the work was an untruth, to assume it a danger, and to say nothing, an incivility ; he took a middle evasion, telling the Prince, that he understood he was going to Rome, where he might learn at ease who was the author of that work, as they were freshly intelligenced from thence. Thus without any mercy of your time, I have been led along from one thing to another, while I have taken pleasure to remember that man whom God appointed and furnished for a proper instrument to anatomise that pack of reverend cheaters. Among whom, I speak of the greater part, *exceptis senioribus*, religion was shuffled like a pair of cards, and the dice so many years were set upon us.

‘And so wishing you very heartily many good years, I will let you breathe, till you have opened these inclosed.’

SOME PASSAGES
IN THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF
JOHN EARL OF ROCHESTER.

PREFACE.

THE celebrating the praises of the dead is an argument so worn out by long and frequent use, and now become so nauseous by the flattery that usually attends it, that it is no wonder if funeral orations, or panegyrics, are more considered for the elegance of style and fineness of wit, than for the authority they carry with them as to the truth of matters of fact. And yet I am not hereby deterred from meddling with this kind of argument, nor from handling it with all the plainness I can; delivering only what I myself heard and saw, without any borrowed ornament. I do easily foresee how many will be engaged for the support of their impious maxims and immoral practices, to disparage what I am to write. Others will censure it because it comes from one of my profession; too many supposing us to be induced to frame such discourses for carrying on what they are pleased to call *our trade*. Some will think I dress it up too artificially; and others, that I present it too plain and naked.

But, being resolved to govern myself by the exact rules of truth, I shall be less concerned in the censures I may fall under. It may seem liable to great exception that I should disclose so many things, that were discovered to me, if not under the seal of confession, yet under the confidence of friendship. But this noble lord himself not only released me from all obligation of this kind, when I waited on him in his last sickness a few days before he died, but gave it me in charge not to spare him in any thing which I thought might be of use to the living, and was not ill pleased to be laid open, as well in the worst as in the best and last part of his life, being so sincere in his repentance, that he was not unwilling to take shame to himself, by suffering his faults to be exposed for the benefit of others.

I write with one great disadvantage, that I cannot reach his chief design without mentioning some of his faults; but I have touched them as tenderly as occasion would bear, and, I am sure, with much more softness than he desired, or would have consented unto, had I told him how I intended to manage this part. I have related nothing with personal reflections on any others concerned with him; wishing rather that they themselves, reflecting on the sense he had of his former disorders, may be thereby led to forsake their own, than that they should be any ways reproached by what I write; and therefore, though he used very few reserves with me as to his course of life, yet, since others had a share in most parts of it, I shall relate nothing but what more immediately concerned himself; and I shall say no more of his faults than is necessary to illustrate his repentance.

The occasion that led me into so particular a knowledge of him, was an intimation, given me by a gentleman of his acquaintance, of his desire to see me. This was some time in October, 1679, when he was slowly recovering out of a great disease. He had understood that I often attended on one well known to him, that died the summer before: he was also then entertaining himself, in that state of his health, with the first part of the History of the Reformation then newly come out, with which he seemed not ill pleased; and we had accidentally met in two or three places some time before. These were the motives that led him to call for my company. After I had waited on him once or twice, he grew into that freedom with me, as to open to me all his thoughts, both of religion and morality; and to give me a full view of his past life; and seemed not uneasy at my frequent visits. So, till he went from London, which was in the beginning of April, I waited on him often. As soon as I heard how ill he was, and how much he was touched with a sense of his former life, I writ to him, and received from him an answer, that, without my knowledge, was printed since his death, from a copy which one of his servants conveyed to the press. In it there is so undeserved a value put on me, that it had been very indecent for me

to have published it: yet that must be attributed to his civility and way of breeding; and indeed he was particularly known to so few of the clergy, that the good opinion he had of me is to be imputed only to his unacquaintance with others.

My end in writing is so to discharge the last commands this lord left on me, as that it may be effectual to awaken those who run on to all the excesses of riot; and that, in the midst of those heats which their lusts and passions raise in them, they may be a little wrought on by so great an instance of one who had run round the whole circle of *luxury*; and, as Solomon says of himself, ‘Whatsoever his eyes desired, he kept it not from them; and withheld his heart from no joy.’ But when he looked back on all that on which he had wasted his time and his strength, he esteemed it *vanity and vexation of spirit*: though he had both as much natural wit, and as much acquired by learning, and both as much improved with thinking and study, as perhaps any libertine of the age; yet, when he reflected on all his former courses, even before his mind was illuminated with better thoughts, he counted them madness and folly. But when the powers of religion came to operate on him, then he added a detestation to the contempt he formerly had of them, suitable to what became a sincere penitent; and expressed himself in so clear and so calm a manner, so sensible of his failings towards his Maker and Redeemer, that, as it wrought not a little on those that were about him, so, I hope, the making it public may have a more general influence, chiefly on those on whom his former conversation might have had ill effects.

I have endeavoured to give his character as fully as I could take it: for, I who saw him only in one light, in a sedate and quiet temper, when he was under a great decay of strength and loss of spirits, cannot give his picture with that life and advantage that others may who knew him when his parts were more bright and lively: yet the composure he was then in may perhaps be supposed to balance any abatement of his usual vigour, which the declination of his health brought him under. I have written this discourse with

as much care, and have considered it as narrowly, as I could. I am sure I have said nothing but truth: I have done it slowly, and often used my second thoughts in it, not being so much concerned in the censures which might fall on myself, as cautious that nothing should pass that might obstruct my only design of writing, which is the doing what I can towards the reforming a loose and lewd age. And if such a signal instance, concurring with all the evidence that we have for our most holy faith, has no effect on those who are running the same course, it is much to be feared they are given up to a reprobate sense.

JOHN WILMOT, EARL OF ROCHESTER,

WAS born in April, anno Dom. 1648. His father was Henry Earl of Rochester, but best known by the title of the Lord Wilmot, who bore so great a part in all the late wars, that mention is often made of him in the history, and had the chief share in the honour of the preservation of his Majesty after Worcester fight, and the conveying him from place to place till he happily escaped into France; but, dying before the King's return, he left his son little other inheritance but the honour and title derived to him, with the pretensions such eminent services gave him to the King's favour: these were carefully managed by the great prudence and discretion of his mother, a daughter of that noble and ancient family of the St. Johns, of Whiltshire; so that his education was carried on in all things suitably to his quality.

When he was at school, he was an extraordinary proficient at his book; and those shining parts, which since have appeared with so much lustre, began then to shew themselves. He acquired the Latin to such perfection, that to his dying day he retained a great relish of the fineness and beauty of that tongue, and was exactly versed in the incomparable authors that wrote about Augustus's time, whom he read often with that peculiar delight which the greatest wits have ever found in those studies.

When he went to the university, the general joy which overran the whole nation upon his Majesty's restoration, but was not regulated with that sobriety and temperance that became a serious gratitude to God for so great a blessing, produced some of its ill effects upon him: he began to love these disorders too much. His tutor was that eminent and pious divine, Dr. Blandford, afterward promoted to the sees of Oxford and Worcester; and, under his inspection, he was committed

to the more immediate care of Mr. Phineas Berry, a fellow of Wadham College, a very learned and good-natured man, whom he afterward ever used with much respect, and rewarded him as became a great man. But the humour of that time wrought so much on him, that he broke off the course of his studies, to which no means could ever effectually recall him, till, when he was in Italy, his governor, Dr. Balfour, a learned and worthy man, afterward a celebrated physician in Scotland, his native country, drew him to read such books as were most likely to bring him back to love learning and study: and he often acknowledged to me, in particular three days before his death, how much he was obliged to love and honour this his governor, to whom he thought he owed more than to all the world, next after his parents, for his great fidelity and care of him while he was under his trust. But no part of it affected him more sensibly than that he engaged him by many tricks (so he expressed it) to delight in books and reading; so that ever after he took occasion, in the intervals of those woful extravagances that consumed most of his time, to read much; and, though the time was generally but indifferently employed, for the choice of the subjects of his studies was not always good, yet the habitual love of knowledge, together with these fits of study, had much awakened his understanding, and prepared him for better things, when his mind should be so far changed as to relish them.

He came from his travels in the eighteenth year of his age, and appeared at court with as great advantages as most ever had. He was a graceful and well-shaped person, tall, and well made, if not a little too slender: he was exactly well bred; and, what by a modest behaviour natural to him, what by a civility become almost as natural, his conversation was easy and obliging. He had a strange vivacity of thought and vigour of expression; his wit had a subtilty and sublimity both, that it was scarce imitable. His style was clear and strong: when he used figures, they were lively, and yet far enough out of the common road. He had made himself master of the ancient and modern wit, and of the modern French and Italian as well as the

English. He loved to talk and write of speculative matters; and did it with so fine a thread, that even those, who hated the subjects that his fancy ran upon, yet could not but be charmed with his way of treating them. Boileau among the French, and Cowley among the English, wits, were those he admired most. Sometimes other men's thoughts mixed with his composures; but that flowed rather from the impressions they made on him when he read them, by which they came to return on him as his own thoughts, than that he servilely copied from any; for few men had a bolder flight of fancy, more steadily governed by judgment, than he had. No wonder a young man so made and so improved was very acceptable in a court.

Soon after his coming thither, he laid hold on the first occasion that offered to shew his readiness to hazard his life in the defence and service of his country. In winter, 1665, he went with the Earl of Sandwich to sea, when he was sent to lie for a Dutch East-India fleet; and was in the *Revenge*, commanded by Sir Thomas Tiddiman, when the attack was made on the port of Bergen in Norway, the Dutch ships having got into that port. It was as desperate an attempt as ever was made. During the whole action, the Earl of Rochester shewed as brave and as resolute a courage as was possible: a person of honour told me he heard the Lord Clifford, who was in the same ship, often magnify his courage at that time very highly. Nor did the rigours of the season, the hardness of the voyage, and the extreme danger he had been in, deter him from running the like on the very next occasion; for the summer following he went to sea again, without communicating his design to his nearest relations. He went on board the ship commanded by Sir Edward Spragge, the day before the great sea-fight of that year.—Almost all the volunteers that were in the same ship were killed. Mr. Middleton (brother to Sir Hugh Middleton) was shot in the arm.—During the action, Sir Edward Spragge, not being satisfied with the behaviour of one of his captains, could not easily find a person that would cheerfully venture through so much danger to carry his commands to that captain. This lord offered him-

self to the service, and went in a little boat, through all the shot, and delivered his message, and returned back to Sir Edward; which was much commended by all that saw it. He thought it necessary to begin his life with these demonstrations of courage, in an element and way of fighting which is acknowledged to be the greatest trial of clear and undaunted valour.

He had so entirely laid down the intemperance that was growing on him before his travels, that at his return he hated nothing more; but, falling into company that loved these excesses, he was, though not without difficulty, and by many steps, brought back to it again; and the natural heat of his fancy, being inflamed by wine, made him so extravagantly pleasant, that many, to be more diverted by that humour, studied to engage him deeper and deeper in intemperance; which at length did so entirely subdue him, that, as he told me, for five years together he was continually drunk; not all the while under the visible effects of it, but his blood was so inflamed, that he was not, in all that time, cool enough to be perfectly master of himself. This led him to say and do many wild and unaccountable things: by this, he said, he had broken the firm constitution of his health, that seemed so strong that nothing was too hard for it; and he had suffered so much in his reputation, that he almost despaired to recover it. There were two principles in his natural temper, that, being heightened by that heat, carried him to great excesses—a violent love of pleasure, and a disposition to extravagant mirth. The one involved him in great sensuality; the other led him to many odd adventures and frolics, in which he was oft in hazard of his life: the one being the same irregular appetite in his mind that the other was in his body, which led him to think nothing diverting that was not extravagant. And though, in cold blood, he was a generous and good-natured man, yet he would go far, in his heats, after any thing that might turn to a jest or matter of diversion. He said to me, he never improved his interest at court to do a premeditated mischief to other persons. Yet he laid out his wit very freely in libels and satires, in which he had a peculiar talent of mixing his wit with his malice, and fitting

both with such apt words, that men were tempted to be pleased with them : from thence his composures came to be easily known, for few had such a way of tempering these together as he had ; so that, when any thing extraordinary that way came out, as a child is fathered sometimes by its resemblance, so it was laid at his door as its parent and author.

These exercises in the course of his life were not always equally pleasant to him ; he had often sad intervals and severe reflections on them : and, though then he had not these awakened in him by any deep principle of religion, yet the horror that nature raised in him, especially in some sicknesses, made him too easy to receive some ill principles which others endeavoured to possess him with ; so that he was too soon brought to set himself to secure and fortify his mind against that, by dispossessing it all he could of the belief or apprehensions of religion. The licentiousness of his temper, with the briskness of his wit, disposed him to love the conversation of those who divided their time between lewd actions and irregular mirth. And so he came to bend his wit, and direct his studies and endeavours, to support and strengthen these ill principles in himself and others.

An accident fell out after this which confirmed him more in these courses. When he went to sea in the year 1665, there happened to be, in the same ship with him, Mr. Montague and another gentleman of quality. These two, the former especially, seemed persuaded that they should never return into England : Mr. Montague said he was sure of it ; the other was not so positive. The Earl of Rochester and the last of these entered into a formal engagement, not without ceremonies of religion, that, if either of them died, he should appear, and give the other notice of the future state, if there was any ; but Mr. Montague would not enter into the bond. When the day came that they thought to have taken the Dutch fleet, in the port of Bergen, Mr. Montague, though he had such a strong presage in his mind of his approaching death, yet he generously staid all the while in the place of greatest danger. The other gentleman signalized his courage

in a most undaunted manner till the end of the action, when he fell on a sudden into such a trembling that he could scarce stand; and, Mr. Montague going to him to hold him up, as they were in each other's arms, a cannon ball killed him outright, and carried away Mr. Montague's belly, so that he died within an hour after. The Earl of Rochester told me that these presages they had in their minds made some impression on him, that there were separated beings; and that the soul, either by a natural sagacity, or some secret notice communicated to it, had a sort of divination. But that gentleman's never appearing was a great snare to him during the rest of his life; though when he told me this, he could not but acknowledge it was an unreasonable thing for him to think, that beings in another state are not under such laws and limits that they could not command their own motions but as the Supreme Power should order them; and that one, who had so corrupted the natural principles of truth as he had, had no reason to expect that such an extraordinary thing should be done for his conviction.

He told me of another odd presage that one had of his approaching death in the Lady Warre's, his mother-in-law's, house. The chaplain had dreamt that such a day he should die; but, being by all the family put out of the belief of it, he had almost forgot it; till, the evening before, at supper, there being thirteen at table, according to a fond conceit that one of these must soon die, one of the young ladies pointed to him that he was to die. He, remembering his dream, fell into some disorder; and, the Lady Warre reproving him for his superstition, he said he was confident he was to die before morning; but he being in perfect health, it was not much minded. It was Saturday night, and he was to preach next day. He went to his chamber, and sat up late, as appeared by the burning of his candle; and he had been preparing his notes for his sermon; but was found dead in his bed the next morning. These things, he said, made him inclined to believe the soul was a substance distinct from matter; and this often returned into his thoughts. But that which perfected his persuasion about it was, that, in

the sickness which brought him so near death before I first knew him, when his spirits were so low and spent that he could not move nor stir, and he did not think to live an hour, he said his reason and judgment were so clear and strong, that from thence he was fully persuaded that death was not the spending or dissolution of the soul, but only the separation of it from matter. He had in that sickness great remorse for his past life; but he afterward told me, they were rather general and dark horrors, than any conviction of sinning against God. He was sorry he had lived so as to waste his strength so soon, or that he had brought such an ill name upon himself; and had an agony in his mind about it which he knew not well how to express; but at such times, though he complied with his friends in suffering divines to be sent for, he said he had no great mind to it, and that it was but a piece of his breeding to desire them to pray by him, in which he joined little himself.

As to the Supreme Being, he had always some impression of one; and professed often to me, that he had never known an entire atheist, who fully believed there was no God. Yet, when he explained his notion of this Being, it amounted to no more than a vast power, that had none of the attributes of goodness or justice we ascribe to the Deity. These were his thoughts about religion, as himself told me. For morality, he freely owned to me, that, though he talked of it as a fine thing, yet this was only because he thought it a decent mode of speaking; and that, as they went always in clothes, though in their frolics they would have chosen sometimes to have gone naked, if they had not feared the people,—so some of them found it necessary, for human life, to talk of morality, yet he confessed they cared not for it, farther than the reputation of it was necessary for their credit and affairs; of which he gave me many instances: as their professing and swearing friendship where they hated mortally; their oaths and imprecations on their addresses to women, which they intended never to make good; the pleasure they took in defaming innocent persons, and spreading false reports of some, perhaps

in revenge, because they could not engage them to comply with their ill designs; the delight they had in making people quarrel; their unjust usage of their creditors, and putting them off by any deceitful promise they could invent that might deliver them from present importunity. So that, in detestation of these courses, he would often break forth into such hard expressions, concerning himself, as would be indecent for another to repeat.

Such had been his principles and practices in a course of many years, which had almost quite extinguished the natural propensities in him to justice and virtue. He would often go into the country, and be for some months wholly employed in study, or the sallies of his wit, which he came to direct chiefly to satire. And this he often defended to me, by saying there were some people that could not be kept in order or admonished but in this way. I replied, that it might be granted that a grave way of satire was sometimes no unprofitable way of reproof; yet they, who used it only out of spite, and mixed lies with truth, sparing nothing that might adorn their poems or gratify their revenge, could not excuse that way of reproach by which the innocent often suffer; since the most malicious things, if wittily expressed, might stick to and blemish the best men in the world; and the malice of a libel could hardly consist with the charity of an admonition. To this he answered, a man could not write with life unless he were heated by revenge; for, to write a satire without resentments, upon the cold notions of philosophy, was as if a man would in cold blood cut men's throats who had never offended him; and he said the lies in these libels came often in as ornaments that could not be spared without spoiling the beauty of the poem.

For his other studies, they were divided between the comical and witty writings of the ancients and moderns, the Roman authors, and books of physic, which the ill state of health he was fallen into made more necessary to himself, and which qualified him for an odd adventure which I shall but just mention. Being under an unlucky accident, which obliged him

to keep out of the way, he disguised himself so that his nearest friends could not have known him, and set up, in Tower Street, for an Italian mountebank, where he practised physic for some weeks not without success. In his latter years he read books of history more. He took pleasure to disguise himself as a porter, or as a beggar; sometimes to follow some mean amours, which for the variety of them he affected. At other times, merely for diversion, he would go about in odd shapes, in which he acted his part so naturally, that even those who were in the secret, and saw him in these shapes, could perceive nothing by which he might be discovered.

I have now made the description of his former life and principles as fully as I thought necessary, to answer my end in writing, and yet with those reserves that I hope I have given no just cause of offence to any. I have said nothing but what I had from his own mouth, and have avoided the mentioning of the more particular passages of his life, of which he told me not a few: but, since others were concerned in them, whose good only I design, I will say nothing that may either provoke or blemish them. It is their reformation, not their disgrace, I desire. This tender consideration of others has made me suppress many remarkable and useful things he told me; but, finding that, though I should name none, yet I must at least relate such circumstances as would give too great occasion for the reader to conjecture concerning the persons intended, right or wrong, either of which were inconvenient enough, I have chosen to pass them quite over. But I hope those, that know how much they were engaged with him in his ill courses, will be somewhat touched with this tenderness I express towards them, and be thereby the rather induced to reflect on their ways, and to consider, without prejudice or passion, what a sense this noble lord had of their case, when he came at last seriously to reflect upon his own.

I now turn to those parts of this narrative wherein I myself bore some share, and which I am to deliver upon the observations I made after a long and free conversation with him for some months. I was not

long in his company, when he told me he should treat me with more freedom than he had ever used to men of my profession; he would conceal none of his principles from me, but lay his thoughts open without any disguise; nor would he do it to maintain debate, or shew his wit, but plainly tell me what stuck with him; and protested to me, that he was not so engaged to his old maxims as to resolve not to change, but that, if he could be convinced, he would choose rather to be of another mind. He said he would impartially weigh what I should lay before him, and tell me freely when it did convince and when it did not. He expressed this disposition of mind to me in a manner so frank, that I could not but believe him, and be much taken with his way of discourse: so we entered into almost all the parts of natural and revealed religion, and of morality. He seemed pleased, and in a great measure satisfied, with what I said upon many of these heads; and, though our freest conversation was when we were alone, yet upon several occasions other persons were witnesses to it. I understood from many hands that my company was not distasteful to him, and that the subjects about which we talked most were not unacceptable; and he expressed himself often not ill pleased with many things I said to him, and particularly when I visited him in his last sickness; so that I hope it may not be altogether unprofitable to publish the substance of those matters about which we argued so freely, with our reasoning upon them; and perhaps what had some effects on him may be not altogether ineffectual upon others. I followed him with such arguments as I saw were most likely to prevail with him; and my not urging other reasons proceeded not from any distrust I had of their force, but from the necessity of using those that were most proper for him. He was then in a low state of health, and seemed to be slowly recovering of a great disease. He was in the milk diet, and apt to fall into hectic fits; any accident weakened him, so that he thought he could not live long; and, when he went from London, he said he believed he should never come to town more. Yet, during his being in town, he was so well, that he went

often abroad, and had great vivacity of spirits ; so that he was under no such decay as either darkened or weakened his understanding ; nor was he any way troubled with the spleen or vapours, or under the power of melancholy. What he was then, compared to what he had been formerly, I could not so well judge, who had seen him but twice before. Others have told me they perceived no difference in his parts. This I mention more particularly, that it may not be thought that melancholy, or the want of spirits, made him more inclined to receive any impressions : for indeed I never discovered any such thing in him.

Having thus opened the way to the heads of our discourse, I shall next mention them. The three chief things we talked about were morality, natural religion, and revealed religion ; Christianity in particular. For morality, he confessed he saw the necessity of it, both for the government of the world, and for the preservation of health, life, and friendship ; and was very much ashamed of his former practices, rather because he had made himself a beast, and had brought pain and sickness on his body, and had suffered much in his reputation, than from any deep sense of a Supreme Being or another state. But so far this went with him, that he resolved firmly to change the course of his life, which he thought he should effect by the study of philosophy, and had not a few no less solid than pleasant notions concerning the folly and madness of vice. But he confessed he had no remorse for his past actions as offences against God, but only as injuries to himself and to mankind.

Upon this subject I shewed him the defects of philosophy for reforming the world. That it was a matter of speculation, which but few either had the leisure or the capacity to inquire into ; but the principle that must reform mankind, must be obvious to every man's understanding. That philosophy, in matters of morality, beyond the great lines of our duty, had no very certain fixed rule ; but, in the less offices and instances of our duty, went much by the fancies of men and customs of nations ; and consequently could not have authority enough to bear down the propensities of nature,

appetite, or passion: for which I instanced in these two points; the one was about that maxim of the Stoics, to extirpate all sort of passion and concern for any thing. That, take it by one hand, seemed desirable, because if it could be accomplished, it would make all the accidents of life easy; but I think it cannot, because nature, after all our striving against it, will still return to itself: yet, on the other hand, it dissolved the bonds of nature and friendship, and slackened industry, which will move but dully without an inward heat; and, if it delivered a man from any troubles, it deprived him of the chief pleasures of life, which arise from friendship. The other was concerning the restraint of pleasure, how far that was to go. Upon this he told me, the two maxims of his morality then were, that he should do nothing to the hurt of any other, or that might prejudice his own health; and he thought that all pleasure, when it did not interfere with these, was to be indulged as the gratification of our natural appetites. It seemed unreasonable to imagine these were put into a man only to be restrained, or curbed to such a narrowness: this he applied to the free use of wine and women.

To this I answered, that, if appetites being natural was an argument for the indulging them, then the revengeful might as well allege it for murder, and the covetous for stealing, whose appetites are no less keen on those objects, and yet it is acknowledged that these appetites ought to be curbed. If the difference is urged from the injury that another person receives, the injury is as great, if a man's wife is defiled or his daughter corrupted; and it is impossible for a man to let his appetites loose to vagrant lusts, and not to transgress in these particulars: so there was no curing the disorders that must arise from thence but by regulating these appetites. And why should we not as well think, that God intended our brutish and sensual appetites should be governed by our reason, as that the fierceness of beasts should be managed and tamed by the wisdom, and for the use of man? So that it is no real absurdity to grant, that appetites were put into men on purpose to exercise their reason in the restraint and

government of them ; which to be able to do, ministers a higher and more lasting pleasure to a man than to give them their full scope and range. And, if other rules of philosophy be observed, such as the avoiding those objects that stir passion, nothing raises higher passions than ungoverned lust ; nothing darkens the understanding and depresses a man's mind more ; nor is any thing managed with more frequent returns of other immoralities, such as oaths and imprecations, which are only intended to compass what is desired : the expense, that is necessary to maintain these irregularities, makes a man false in his other dealings. All this he freely confessed was true : upon which I urged, that, if it was reasonable for a man to regulate his appetite in things which he knew were hurtful to him, was it not as reasonable for God to prescribe a regulation of those appetites whose unrestrained course did produce such mischievous effects ? That it could not be denied, but doing to others what we would have others do unto us, was a just rule : those men, then, that knew how extremely sensible they themselves would be of the dishonour of their families, in the case of their wives or daughters, must needs condemn themselves for doing that which they could not bear from another : and, if the peace of mankind, and the entire satisfaction of our whole life, ought to be one of the chief measures of our actions, then let all the world judge, whether a man that confines his appetite, and lives contented at home, is not much happier than those that let their desires run after forbidden objects. The thing being granted to be better in itself, then the question falls between the restraint of appetite, in some instances, and the freedom of a man's thoughts, the soundness of his health, his application to affairs, with the easiness of his whole life : whether the one is not to be done before the other ? As to the difficulty of such a restraint, though it is not easy to be done, when a man allows himself many liberties in which it is not possible for him to stop, yet those who avoid the occasions that may kindle these impure flames, and keep themselves well employed, find the victory and dominion over them no such impossible or hard matter as may

seem at first view : so that, though the philosophy and morality of this point were plain, yet there is not strength enough in that principle to subdue nature and appetite. Upon this I urged, that morality could not be a strong thing, unless a man were determined by a law within himself ; for, if he only measured himself by decency, or the laws of the land, this would teach him only to use such cautions in his ill practices, that they should not break out too visibly ; but would never carry him to an inward and universal probity. That virtue was of so complicated a nature, that, unless a man came entirely within its discipline, he could not adhere steadfastly to any one precept ; for vices are often made necessary supports to one another. That this cannot be done, either steadily or with any satisfaction, unless the mind does inwardly comply with, and delight in, the dictates of virtue ; and that could not be effected, except a man's nature were internally regenerated and changed by a higher principle : till that came about, corrupt nature would be strong and philosophy but feeble, especially when it struggled with such appetites or passions as were much kindled, or deeply rooted in the constitution of one's body. This, he said, sounded to him like enthusiasm, or canting : he had no notion of it, and so could not understand it. He comprehended the dictates of reason and philosophy ; in which, as the mind became much conversant, there would soon follow, as he believed, a greater easiness in obeying its precepts. I told him, on the other hand, that all his speculations of philosophy would not serve him in any stead to the reforming of his nature and life, till he applied himself to God for inward assistances. It was certain that the impressions made in his reason governed him as they were lively presented to him ; but these are so apt to slip out of our memory, and we so apt to turn our thoughts from them, and at sometimes the contrary impressions are so strong, that, let a man set up a reasoning in his mind against them, he finds that celebrated saying of the poet—

Video meliora, proboque ; deteriora sequor—

‘ I see what is better, and approve it ; but follow what is worse,’—

to be all that philosophy will amount to. Whereas those, who upon such occasions apply themselves to God by earnest prayer, feel a disengagement from such impressions, and themselves endued with a power to resist them; so that those bonds which formerly held them fall off.

This, he said, must be the effect of a heat in nature: it was only the strong diversion of the thoughts that gave the seeming victory, and he did not doubt, but, if one could turn to a problem in Euclid, or to write a copy of verses, it would have the same effect. To this I answered, that, if such methods did only divert the thoughts, there might be some force in what he said: but, if they not only drove out such inclinations, but begat impressions contrary to them, and brought men into a new disposition and habit of mind, then he must confess there was somewhat more than a diversion in these changes, which were brought on our minds by true devotion. I added, that reason and experience were the things that determined our persuasions: that experience without reason, may be thought the delusion of our fancy, so reason without experience had not so convincing an operation; but these two meeting together must needs give a man all the satisfaction he can desire. He could not say it was unreasonable to believe that the Supreme Being might make some thoughts stir in our minds with more or less force as it pleased; especially, the force of these motions being, for the most part, according to the impression that was made on our brains, which that power that directed the whole frame of nature, could make grow deeper as it pleased. It was also reasonable to suppose God a being of such goodness, that he would give his assistance to such as desired it; for, though he might, upon some greater occasions, in an extraordinary manner turn some people's minds, yet, since he had endued man with a faculty of reason, it is fit that men should employ that as far as they could, and beg his assistance; which certainly they can do. All this seemed reasonable, and at last probable. Now good men, who felt, upon their frequent applications to God in prayer, a freedom from those ill impressions that formerly sub-

duced them, an inward love to virtue and true goodness, an easiness and delight in all the parts of holiness, which was fed and cherished in them by a seriousness in prayer; and did languish as that went off, had as real a perception of an inward strength in their minds, that did rise and fall with true devotion, as they perceived the strength of their bodies increased or abated, according as they had or wanted good nourishment.

After many discourses upon this subject, he still continued to think all was the effect of fancy. He said that he understood nothing of it, but acknowledged that he thought they were happy whose fancies were under the power of such impressions, since they had somewhat on which their thoughts rested and centred; but, when I saw him in his last sickness, he then told me he had another sense of what we had talked concerning prayer and inward assistances. This subject led us to discourse of God, and of the notion of religion in general. He believed there was a Supreme Being: he could not think the world was made by chance, and the regular course of nature seemed to demonstrate the eternal power of its Author. This, he said, he could never shake off: but when he came to explain his notion of the Deity, he said he looked on it as a vast power that wrought every thing by the necessity of its nature; and thought that God had none of those affections of love or hatred which bred perturbation in us; and by consequence he could not see that there was to be either reward or punishment. He thought our conceptions of God were so low, that we had better not think much of him; and to love God seemed to him a presumptuous thing, and the heat of fanciful men. Therefore he believed there should be no other religious worship but a general celebration of that Being in some short hymn: all the other parts of worship he esteemed the inventions of priests, to make the world believe they had a secret of incensing and appeasing God as they pleased. In a word, he was neither persuaded that there was a special providence about human affairs, nor that prayers were of much use, since that was to look on God as a weak being, that would be overcome with importunities. And, for the state after death,

though he thought the soul did not dissolve at death, yet he doubted much of rewards or punishments: the one he thought too high for us to attain by our slight services; and the other was too extreme to be inflicted for sin. This was the substance of his speculations about God and religion.

I told him his notions of God were so low, that the Supreme Being seemed to be nothing but nature. For, if that Being had no freedom or choice of its own actions, nor operated by wisdom or goodness, all those reasons which led him to acknowledge a God were contrary to this conceit; for, if the order of the universe persuaded him to think there was a God, he must at the same time conceive him to be both wise and good, as well as powerful, since these all appeared equally in the creation, though his wisdom and goodness had ways of exerting themselves that were far beyond our notions or measures. If God was wise and good, he would naturally love and be pleased with those that resemble him in these perfections, and dislike those that were opposite to him. Every rational being naturally loves itself, and is delighted in others like itself, and is averse from what is not so. Truth is a rational nature's acting in conformity to itself in all things, and goodness is an inclination to promote the happiness of other beings: so truth and goodness were the essential perfections of every reasonable being, and certainly most eminently in the Deity. Nor does his mercy or love raise passion or perturbation in him; for we feel that to be a weakness in ourselves, which indeed only flows from a want of power or skill to do what we wish or desire. It is also reasonable to believe God would assist the endeavours of the good with some helps suitable to their nature; and that it could not be imagined, that those who imitated him should not be especially favoured by him; and therefore, since this did not appear in this state, it was most reasonable to think it should be in another, where the rewards shall be an admission to a more perfect state of conformity to God, with the felicity that follows it; and the punishments should be a total exclusion from him, with all the horror and darkness that must follow that.

These seemed to be the natural results of such several courses of life, as well as the effects of divine justice, rewarding or punishing. For, since he believed the soul had a distinct subsistence, separated from the body, upon its dissolution, there was no reason to think it passed into a state of utter oblivion of what it had been in formerly: but that, as the reflections on the good or evil it had done must raise joy or horror in it, so those good or ill dispositions accompanying the departed souls, they must either rise up to a higher perfection, or sink to a more depraved and miserable state. In this life, variety of affairs and objects do much cool and divert our minds; and are, on the one hand, often great temptations to the good, and give the bad some ease in their trouble; but, in a state wherein the soul shall be separated from sensible things, and employed in a more quick and sublime way of operation, this must very much exalt the joys and improvements of the good, and as much heighten the horror and rage of the wicked. So that it seemed a vain thing to pretend to believe a Supreme Being that is wise and good, as well as great, and not to think a discrimination will be made between the good and the bad, which it is manifest is not fully done in this life.

As for the government of the world, if we believe the Supreme Power made it, there is no reason to think he does not govern it; for all that we can fancy against it is the distraction which that infinite variety of second causes, and the care of their concerns, must give to the first, if it inspects them all. But, as among men, those of weaker capacities are wholly taken up with some one thing, whereas those of more enlarged powers can without distraction have many things within their care,—as the eye can at one view receive a great variety of objects in that narrow compass without confusion,—so, if we conceive the divine understanding to be as far above ours as his power of creating and framing the whole universe is above our limited activity, we will no more think the government of the world a distraction to him; and, if we have once overcome this prejudice, we shall be

ready to acknowledge a providence directing all affairs a care well becoming the great Creator.

As for worshipping him, if we imagine our worship is a thing that adds to his happiness, or gives him such a fond pleasure as weak people have to hear themselves commended, or that our repeated addresses do overcome him through our mere importunity, we have certainly very unworthy thoughts of him. The true ends of worship come within another consideration, which is this: a man is never entirely reformed till a new principle governs his thoughts; nothing makes that principle so strong, as deep and frequent meditations of God, whose nature, though it be far above our comprehension, yet his goodness and wisdom are such perfections as fall within our imagination: and he that thinks often of God, and considers him as governing the world, and as ever observing all his actions, will feel a very sensible effect of such meditations, as they grow more lively and frequent with him; so the end of religious worship, either public or private, is to make the apprehensions of God have a deeper root and a stronger influence on us. The frequent returns of these are necessary, lest, if we allow too long intervals between them, these impressions may grow feebler, and other suggestions may come in their room; and the returns of prayer are not to be considered as favours extorted by mere importunity, but as rewards conferred on men so well disposed and prepared for them, according to the promises that God has made for answering our prayers; thereby to engage and nourish a devout temper in us, which is the chief root of all true holiness and virtue.

It is true, we cannot have suitable notions of the divine essence; as indeed we have no just idea of any essence whatsoever, since we commonly consider all things either by their outward figure or by their effects, and from thence make inferences what their nature must be: so, though we cannot frame any perfect image in our minds of the Divinity, yet we may, from the discoveries God has made of himself, form such conceptions of him, as may possess our minds with great reverence for him, and beget in us such a love of

those perfections as to engage us to imitate them. For, when we say we love God, the meaning is, we love that Being that is holy, just, good, wise, and infinitely perfect: and loving these attributes in that object will certainly carry us to desire them in ourselves. For, whatever we love in another, we naturally, according to the degree of our love, endeavour to resemble it. In some, the loving and worshipping God, though they are just and reasonable returns and expressions of the sense we have of his goodness to us, yet they are exacted of us not only as a tribute to God, but as a mean to beget in us a conformity to his nature, which is the chief end of pure and undefiled religion,

If some men have at several times found out inventions to corrupt this, and cheat the world, it is nothing but what occurs in every sort of employment to which men betake themselves:—mountebanks corrupt physic; pettifoggers have entangled the matters of property; and all professions have been vitiated by the knaveries of a number of their calling.

With all these discourses he was not equally satisfied: he seemed convinced that the impressions of God being much in men's minds would be the powerful means to reform the world; and did not seem determined against providence. But, for the next state, he thought it more likely that the soul began anew, and that her sense of what she had done in this body lying in the figures that are made in the brain, as soon as she dislodged all these perished, and that the soul went into some other state, to begin a new course. But I said, on this head, that this was at best a conjecture, raised in him by his fancy; for he could give no reason to prove it true; nor was all the remembrance our souls had of past things seated in some material figures lodged in the brain; though it could not be denied but a great deal of it lay in the brain. That we have many abstracted notions and ideas of immaterial things which depend not on bodily figures: some sins, such as falsehood and ill-nature, were seated in the mind, as lust and appetite were in the body; and, as the whole body was the receptacle of the soul, and the eyes and ears were the organs of seeing and

hearing, so was the brain the seat of memory : yet the power and faculty of memory, as well as of seeing and hearing, lay in the mind ; and so it was no inconceivable thing, that either the soul, by its own strength, or by the means of some subtler organs which might be fitted for it in another state, should still remember as well as think. But indeed we know so little of the nature of our souls, that it is a vain thing for us to raise an hypothesis out of the conjectures we have about it, or to reject one because of some difficulties that occur to us ; since it is as hard to understand how we remember things now, as how we shall do it in another state : only we are sure we do it now ; and so we shall be then, when we do it.

When I pressed him with the secret joys that a good man felt, particularly as he drew near death, and the horrors of ill men, especially at that time, he was willing to ascribe it to the impressions they had from their education : but he often confessed, that, whether the business of religion was true or not, he thought those who had the persuasions of it, and lived so that they had quiet in their consciences, and believed God governed the world, and acquiesced in his providence, and had the hope of an endless blessedness in another state, the happiest men in the world ; and said, he would give all that he was master of, to be under those persuasions, and to have the supports and joys that must needs flow from them. I told him, the main-root of all corruptions in men's principles was their ill life ; which, as it darkened their minds, and disabled them from discerning better things, so it made it necessary for them to seek out such opinions as might give them ease from those clamours that would otherwise have been raised within them. He did not deny but that, after the doing of some things, he felt great and severe challenges within himself ; but he said, he felt not these after some others, which I would perhaps call far greater sins than those that affected him more sensibly. This, I said, might flow from the disorders he had cast himself into, which had corrupted his judgment, and vitiated his taste of things ; and, by his long continuance in, and frequent repeating of some, immo-

ralities, he had made them so familiar to him, that they were become as it were natural; and then it was no wonder if he had not so exact a sense of what was good or evil; as a feverish man cannot judge of tastes.

He did acknowledge, the whole system of religion, if believed, was a greater foundation of quiet than any other thing whatsoever; for all the quiet he had in his mind was, that he could not think so good a being as the Deity would make him miserable. I asked if, when by the ill course of his life he had brought so many diseases on his body, he could blame God for it, or expect that he should deliver him from them by a miracle? He confessed there was no reason for that. I then urged, that, if sin should cast the mind, by a natural effect, into endless horrors and agonies, which being seated in a being not subject to death, must last for ever, unless some miraculous power interposed: could he accuse God for that which was the effect of his own choice and ill life?

He said, they were happy that believed; for it was not in every man's power.

And upon this we discoursed long about revealed religion. He said, he did not understand the business of inspiration: he believed the penmen of the Scriptures had heats and honesty, and so wrote; but could not comprehend how God should reveal his secrets to mankind. Why was not man made a creature more disposed for religion, and better illuminated? He could not apprehend how there should be any corruption in the nature of man, or a lapse derived from Adam. God's communicating his mind to one man was the putting it in his power to cheat the world: for prophecies and miracles, the world had been always full of strange stories; for, the boldness and cunning of contrivers meeting with the simplicity and credulity of the people, things were easily received; and, being once received, passed down without contradiction. The incoherences of style in the Scriptures, the odd transitions, the seeming contradictions, chiefly about the order of time, the cruelties enjoined the Israelites in destroying the Canaanites, circumcision, and many other rites of the Jewish worship, seemed to him unsuitable to

the Divine nature; and the first three chapters of Genesis he thought could not be true, unless they were parables. This was the substance of what he excepted to revealed religion in general, and to the Old Testament in particular.

I answered to all this, that believing a thing upon the testimony of another, in other matters where there was no reason to suspect the testimony, chiefly where it was confirmed by other circumstances, was not only a reasonable thing, but it was the hinge on which all the government and justice in the world depended; since all the courts of justice proceed upon the evidence given by witnesses; for the use of writing is but a thing more lately brought into the world. So then, if the credibility of the thing, the innocence and disinterestedness of the witnesses, the number of them, and the most public confirmations that could possibly be given, do concur to persuade us of any matter of fact, it is a vain thing to say, because it is possible for so many men to agree in a lie, that therefore these have done it. In all other things, a man gives his assent when the credibility is strong on the one side, and there appears nothing on the other side to balance it. So, such numbers agreeing in their testimony to these miracles (for instance, of our Saviour's calling Lazarus out of the grave the fourth day after he was buried, and his own rising again after he was certainly dead), if there had been never so many impostures in the world, no man can, with any reasonable colour, pretend this was one. We find, both by the Jewish and Roman writers that lived in that time, that our Saviour was crucified, and that all his disciples and followers believed certainly that he rose again. They believed this upon the testimony of the apostles, and many hundreds who saw it, and died confirming it. They went about to persuade the world of it with great zeal, though they knew they were to get nothing by it but reproach and sufferings; and by many wonders which they wrought, they confirmed their testimony. Now, to avoid all this, by saying it is possible this might be a contrivance, and to give no presumption to make it so much as probable that it was so, is, in

plain English, to say, ' We are resolved, let the evidence be what it will, we will not believe it.'

He said, if a man say he cannot believe, what help is there? for he was not master of his own belief, and believing was at highest but a probable opinion. To this I answered, that, if a man will let a wanton conceit possess his fancy against these things, and never consider the evidence for religion on the other hand, but reject it upon a slight view of it, he ought not to say he cannot, but he will not, believe; and, while a man lives an ill course of life, he is not fitly qualified to examine the matter aright. Let him grow calm and virtuous, and upon due application examine things fairly, and then let him pronounce according to his conscience, if, to take it at its lowest, the reasons on the one hand are not much stronger than they are on the other. For I found he was so possessed with the general conceit that a mixture of knaves and fools had made all extraordinary things be easily believed, that it carried him away to determine the matter without so much as looking on the evidence for the historical truth of Christianity, which he had not inquired into, but had bent all his wit and study to the support of the other side. As for that, that believing is at best but an opinion: if the evidence be but probable, it is so; but if it be such that it cannot be questioned, it grows as certain as knowledge: for we are no less certain that there is a great town called Constantinople, the seat of the Ottoman empire, than that there is another called London. We as little doubt that Queen Elizabeth once reigned, as that King Charles now [in 1680] reigns in England. So that believing may be as certain, and as little subject to doubting, as seeing or knowing.

There are two sorts of believing divine matters; the one is wrought in us by our comparing all the evidences of matter of fact, for the confirmation of revealed religion, with the prophecies in the Scripture; where things were punctually predicted, some ages before their completion; not in dark and doubtful words, uttered like oracles, which might bend to any event, but in plain terms, as the foretelling that Cyrus by

name should send the Jews back from the captivity, after the fixed period of seventy years; the history of the Syrian and Egyptian kings, so punctually foretold by Daniel; and the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, with many circumstances relating to it, made by our Saviour: joining these to the excellent rule and design of the Scripture in matters of morality, it is at least as reasonable to believe this as any thing else in the world. Yet such a believing as this is only a general persuasion in the mind, which has not that effect, till a man, applying himself to the directions set down in the Scriptures (which, upon such evidence, cannot be denied to be as reasonable as for a man to follow the prescriptions of a learned physician, and, when the rules are both good and easy, to submit to them for the recovery of his health), and by following these finds a power entering within him that frees him from the slavery of his appetites and passions, that exalts his mind above the accidents of life, and spreads an inward purity in his heart, from which a serene and calm joy arises within him: and good men, by the efficacy these methods have upon them, and from the returns of their prayers, and other endeavours, grow assured that these things are true, and answerable to the promises they find registered in Scripture. All this, he said, might be fancy: but to this I answered, that, as it were unreasonable to tell a man that is abroad, and knows he is awake, that perhaps he is in a dream, and in his bed, and only thinks he is abroad; or that, as some go about in their sleep, so he may be asleep still; so good and religious men know, though others might be abused by their fancies, that they are under no such deception; and find they are neither hot nor enthusiastical, but under the power of calm and clear principles. All this he said he did not understand; and that it was to assert or beg the thing in question; which he could not comprehend.

As for the possibility of revelation, it was a vain thing to deny it; for, as God gives us the sense of seeing material objects by our eyes, and has opened in some a capacity of apprehending high and sublime things, of which other men seemed utterly incapable,

so it was a weak assertion that God cannot awaken a power, in some men's minds, to apprehend and know some things in such a manner that others are not capable of it. This is not half so incredible to us as sight is to a blind man ; who yet may be convinced there is a strange power of seeing that governs men, of which he finds himself deprived. As for the capacity put into such men's hands to deceive the world, we are at the same time to consider, that, besides the probity of their tempers, it cannot be thought but God can so forcibly bind up a man, in some things, that it should not be in his power to deliver them, otherwise than as he gives him in commission. Besides, the confirmation of miracles is a divine credential to warrant such persons in what they deliver to the world, which cannot be imagined can be joined to a lie, since this were to put the omnipotence of God to attest that which no honest man would do. For the business of the fall of man, and other things, of which we cannot perhaps give ourselves a perfect account ; we, who cannot fathom the secrets of the council of God, do very unreasonably to take on us to reject an excellent system of good and holy rules, because we cannot satisfy ourselves about some difficulties in them. Common experience tells us there is a great disorder in our natures, which is not easily rectified : all philosophers were sensible of it, and every man that designs to govern himself by reason, feels the struggle between it and nature ; so that it is plain there is a lapse of the high powers of the soul.

But why, said he, could not this be rectified by some plain rules given ; but men must come and shew a trick, to persuade the world they speak to them in the name of God ? I answered, that religion, being a design to recover and save mankind, was to be so opened as to awaken and work upon all sorts of people ; and generally men of a simplicity of mind were those that were the fittest objects for God to shew his favour to ; therefore it was necessary that messengers sent from heaven should appear with such alarming evidence as might awaken the world, and prepare them, by some astonishing signs, to listen to the doctrine they were

to deliver. Philosophy, that was only a matter of fine speculation, had few votaries; and, as there was no authority in it to bind the world to believe its dictates, so they were only received by some of nobler and refined natures, who could apply themselves to, and delight in such notions. But true religion was to be built on a foundation that should carry more weight on it, and to have such convictions as might not only reach those who were already disposed to receive them, but rouse up such as, without great and sensible excitation, would have otherwise slept on in their ill courses.

Upon this and some such occasions, I told him, I saw the ill use he made of his wit, by which he slurred the gravest things with a slight dash of his fancy; and the pleasure he found in such wanton expressions, as calling the doing of miracles the shewing of a trick, did really keep him from examining them with that care which such things required.

For the Old Testament, we are so remote from that time, we have so little knowledge of the language in which it was writ, have so imperfect an account of the history of those ages, know nothing of their customs, forms of speech, and the several periods they might have by which they reckon their time, that it is rather a wonder we should understand so much of it, than that many passages in it should be so dark to us. The chief use of it, as to us Christians, is, that, from writings which the Jews acknowledged to be divinely inspired, it is manifest the Messiah was promised before the destruction of their temple; which being done long ago, and these prophecies agreeing to our Saviour, and to no other, here is a great confirmation given to the Gospel. But, though many things in these books could not be understood by us who live above 3000 years after the chief of them were written, it is no such extraordinary matter.

For that of the destruction of the Canaanites by the Israelites, it is to be considered, that, if God had sent a plague among them all, that could not have been found fault with. If, then, God had a right to take away their lives without injustice or cruelty, he had a right to appoint others to do it, as well as to execute it by a more

immediate way; and the taking away people by the sword is a much gentler way of dying than to be smitten with a plague or a famine. And, for the children that were innocent of their fathers' faults, God could in another state make that up to them. So all the difficulty is, why were the Israelites commanded to execute a thing of such barbarity? But this will not seem so hard, if we consider that this was to be no precedent for future times; since they did not do it but upon special warrant and commission from heaven, evidenced to all the world by such mighty miracles as did plainly shew that they were particularly designed by God to be the executioners of his justice; and God, by employing them in so severe a service, intended to possess them with great horror of idolatry, which was punished in so extreme a manner.

For the rites of their religion, we can ill judge of them, except we perfectly understood the idolatries round about them, to which we find they were much inclined; so they were to be bent by other rites to an extreme aversion from them: and yet, by the pomp of many of their ceremonies and sacrifices, great indulgences were given to a people naturally fond of a visible splendour in religious worship. In all which, if we cannot descend to such satisfactory answers, in every particular, as a curious man would desire, it is no wonder. The long interval of time, and other accidents, have worn out those things which were necessary to give us a clearer light into the meaning of them. And for the story of the creation, how far some things in it may be parabolical, and how far historical, has been disputed: there is nothing in it that may not be historically true: for if it be acknowledged that spirits can form voices in the air (for which we have as good authority as for any thing in history), then it is no wonder that Eve, being so lately created, might be deceived, and think a serpent spake to her, when the evil spirit framed the voice.

But, in all these things, I told him he was in the wrong way, when he examined the business of religion by some dark parts of Scripture; therefore I desired him to consider the whole contexture of the

Christian religion, the rules it gives, and the methods it prescribes. Nothing can conduce more to the peace, order, and happiness of the world, than to be governed by its rules. Nothing is more for the interest of every man in particular: the rules of sobriety, temperance, and moderation, were the best preservers of life, and, which was perhaps more, of health; humility, contempt of the vanities of the world, and the being well employed, raise a man's mind to a freedom from the follies and temptations that haunted the greatest part. Nothing was so generous and great as to supply the necessities of the poor and to forgive injuries; nothing raised and maintained a man's reputation so much as to be exactly just and merciful, kind, charitable, and compassionate; nothing opened the powers of a man's soul so much as a calm temper, a serene mind, free of passion and disorder; nothing made societies, families, and neighbourhoods, so happy, as when these rules, which the Gospel prescribes, took place of doing as we would have others do to us, and loving our neighbours as ourselves.

The Christian worship was also plain and simple, suitable to so pure a doctrine. The ceremonies of it were few and significant, as the admission to it by a washing with water, and the memorial of our Saviour's death in bread and wine. The motives in it to persuade to this purity were strong: that God sees us, and will judge us for all our actions: that we shall be for ever happy or miserable as we pass our lives here: the example of our Saviour's life, and the great expressions of his love in dying for us, are mighty engagements to obey and imitate him. The plain way of expression, used by our Saviour and his apostles, shews there was no artifice, where there was so much simplicity used: there were no secrets kept only among the priests, but every thing was open to all Christians: the rewards of holiness are not entirely put over to another state, but good men are specially blest with peace in their consciences, great joy in the confidence they have of the love of God, and of seeing him for ever, and often a signal course of blessings follows them in their whole lives: but if at other times calamities fell on them, these

were so much mitigated by the patience they were taught, and the inward assistances with which they were furnished, that even those crosses were converted to blessings.

I desired he would lay all these things together, and see what he could except to them to make him think this was a contrivance. Interest appears in all human contrivances; our Saviour plainly had none: he avoided applause, withdrew himself from the offers of a crown: he submitted to poverty and reproach, and much contradiction in his life, and to a most ignominious and painful death. His apostles had none either; they did not pretend either to power, or wealth; but delivered a doctrine that must needs condemn them, if they ever made such use of it: they declared their commission fully without reserves till other times: they recorded their own weakness; some of them wrought with their own hands: and, when they received the charities of their converts, it was not so much to supply their own necessities as to distribute to others; they knew they were to suffer much for giving their testimonies to what they had seen and heard; in which so many, in a thing so visible as Christ's resurrection and ascension, and the effusion of the Holy Ghost which he had promised, could not be deceived; and they gave such public confirmations of it, by the wonders they themselves wrought, that great multitudes were converted to a doctrine, which, besides the opposition it gave to lust and passion, was borne down and persecuted for three hundred years; and yet its force was such, that it not only weathered out all those storms, but even grew and spread vastly under them. Pliny, about threescore years after, found their numbers great, and their lives innocent: and even Lucian, amidst all his raillery, gives a high testimony to their charity and contempt of life, and the other virtues of the Christians; which is likewise more than once done by malice itself,—Julian the apostate.

If a man will lay all this in one balance, and compare with it the few exceptions brought to it, he will soon find how strong the one, and how slight the other.

Therefore it was an improper way, to begin at some cavils about some passages in the New Testament, or the Old, and from thence to prepossess one's mind against the whole. The right method had been first to consider the whole matter, and from so general a view to descend to more particular inquiries; whereas they suffered their minds to be forestalled with prejudices; so that they never examined the matter impartially.

To the greatest part of this he seemed to assent, only he excepted to the belief of mysteries in the Christian religion; which he thought no man could do, since it is not in a man's power to believe that which he cannot comprehend, and of which he can have no notion. The believing mysteries, he said, made way for all the jugglings of priests; for they, getting the people under them in that point, set out to them what they pleased; and giving it a hard name, and calling it a mystery, the people were tamed, and easily believed it. The restraining a man from the use of women, except one in the way of marriage, and denying the remedy of divorce, he thought unreasonable impositions on the freedom of mankind: and the business of the clergy, and their maintenance, with the belief of some authority and power conveyed in their orders, looked, as he thought, like a piece of contrivance; and why, said he, must a man tell me, I cannot be saved, unless I believe things against my reason, and then that I must pay him for telling me of them? These were all the exceptions which at any time I heard from him to Christianity; to which I made these answers.

For mysteries, it is plain there is in every thing somewhat that is unaccountable. How animals or men are formed in their mothers' bellies, how seeds grow in the earth, how the soul dwells in the body, and acts and moves it; how we retain the figures of many words or things in our memories, and how we draw them out so easily and orderly in our thoughts or discourses; how sight and hearing were so quick and distinct; how we move, and how bodies were compounded and united; these things, if we follow them

into all the difficulties that we may raise about them will appear every whit as unaccountable as any mystery of religion ; and a blind or deaf man would judge sight or hearing as incredible as any mystery may be judged by us ; for our reason is not equal to them. In the same rank, different degrees of age or capacity raise some far above others, so that children cannot fathom the learning, nor weak persons the councils, of more illuminated minds ; therefore it was no wonder if we could not understand the Divine Essence. We cannot imagine how two such different natures as a soul and body should so unite together, and be mutually affected with one another's concerns ; and how the soul has one principle of reason, by which it acts intellectually, and another of life, by which it joins to the body, and acts vitally : two principles so widely differing both in their nature and operation, and yet united in one and the same person. There might be as many hard arguments brought against the possibility of these things, which yet every one knows to be true, from speculative notions, as against the mysteries mentioned in the Scriptures. As that of the Trinity, that in one essence there are three different principles of operation, which, for want of terms fit to express them by, we call persons, and are called in Scripture the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ; and that the second of these did unite himself in a most intimate manner with the human nature of Jesus Christ ; and that the sufferings he underwent were accepted of God as a sacrifice for our sins ; who thereupon conferred on him a power of granting eternal life to all that submit to the terms on which he offers it ; and that the matter of which our bodies once consisted, which may as justly be called the bodies we laid down at our deaths as these can be said to be the bodies which we formerly lived in, being refined and made more spiritual, shall be reunited to our souls, and become a fit instrument for them in a more perfect estate ; and that God inwardly bends and moves our wills by such impressions as he can make on our bodies and minds.

21 These, which are the chief mysteries of our religion,

are neither so unreasonable, that any other objection lies against them, but this, that they agree not with our common notions, not so unaccountable that somewhat like them cannot be assigned in other things, which are believed really to be, though the manner of them cannot be apprehended: so this ought not to be any just objection to the submission of our reason to what we cannot so well conceive, provided our belief of it be well grounded. There have been too many niceties brought indeed rather to darken than explain these: they have been defended by weak arguments, and illustrated by similies not always so very apt and pertinent; and new subtilties have been added, which have rather perplexed than cleared them. All this cannot be denied: the opposition of heretics anciently occasioned too much curiosity among the fathers, which the schoolmen have wonderfully advanced of late times. But if mysteries were received rather in the simplicity in which they are delivered in the Scriptures than according to the descantings of fanciful men upon them, they would not appear much more incredible than some of the common objects of sense and perception. And it is a needless fear, that, if some mysteries are acknowledged, which are plainly mentioned in the New Testament, it will then be in the power of the priests to add more at their pleasure. For it is an absurd inference from our being bound to assent to some truths about the Divine Essence, of which the manner is not understood, to argue that therefore in an object presented daily to our senses, such as bread and wine, we should be bound to believe, against their testimony, that it is not what our senses perceived it to be, but the whole flesh and blood of Christ, an entire body being in every crumb and drop of it. It is not, indeed, in a man's power to believe thus against his sense and reason, where the object is proportioned to them, and fitly applied, and the organs are under no indisposition or disorder. It is certain that no mystery is to be admitted but upon very clear and express authorities from Scripture, which could not reasonably be understood in any other sense. And, though a man cannot form an explicit notion of a mystery, for then it would

be no longer a mystery, yet, in general, he may believe a thing to be, though he cannot give, himself, a particular account of the way of it; or, rather, though he cannot answer some objections which lie against it. We know we believe many such in human matters, which are more within our reach; and it is very unreasonable to say we may not do it in divine things, which are much more above our apprehensions.

For the severe restraint of the use of women, it is hard to deny that privilege to Jesus Christ, as a law-giver, to lay such restraints as all inferior legislators do; who, when they find the liberties their subjects take prove hurtful to them, set such limits, and make such regulations, as they judge necessary and expedient. It cannot be said, but the restraint of appetite is necessary in some instances; and, if it is necessary in these, perhaps other restraints are no less necessary to fortify and secure them: for, if it be acknowledged that men have a property in their wives and daughters, so that to defile the one, or corrupt the other, is an unjust and injurious thing, it is certain that, except a man carefully governs his appetites, he will break through these restraints; and therefore our Saviour, knowing that nothing could so effectually deliver the world from the mischief of unrestrained appetite as such a confinement, might very reasonably enjoin it. And in all such cases we are to balance the inconveniences on both hands; and, where we find they are heaviest, we are to acknowledge the equity of the law. On the one hand there is no prejudice but the restraint of appetite; on the other are the mischiefs of being given up to pleasure, of running inordinately into it, of breaking the quiet of our own family at home and of others abroad, the engaging into much passion, the doing many false and impious things to compass what is desired, the waste of men's estates, time, and health. Now let any man judge whether the prejudices on this side are not greater than that single one on the other side, of being denied some pleasure. For polygamy, it is but reasonable, since women are equally concerned in the laws of marriage, that they should be considered as well as men; but, in a state of polygamy, they are

under great misery and jealousy, and are indeed barbarously used. Man being also of a sociable nature, friendship and converse were among the primitive indentments of marriage; in which, as far as the man may excel the wife in greatness of mind and height of knowledge, the wife some way makes that up with her affection and tender care; so that, from both happily mixed, there arises a harmony, which is, to virtuous minds, one of the greatest joys of life: but all this is gone in a state of polygamy, which occasions perpetual jarrings and jealousies. And the variety does but engage men to a freer range of pleasure; which is not to be put in the balance with the far greater mischiefs that must follow the other course. So that it is plain our Saviour considered the nature of man, what it could bear, and what was fit for it, when he so restrained us in these our liberties. And for divorce, a power to break that bond would too much encourage married persons in the little quarrellings that may arise between them, if it were in their power to depart one from another: for, when they know that, cannot be, and that they must live and die together it does naturally incline them to lay down their resentments, and to endeavour to live together as well as they can. So, the law of the Gospel being a law of love, designed to engage Christians to mutual love, it was fit that all such provisions should be made as might advance and maintain it, and all such liberties be taken away as are apt to enkindle and foment strife. This might fall in some instances to be uneasy and hard enough; but laws consider what falls out most commonly, and cannot provide for all particular cases. The best laws are, in some instances, very great grievances; but the advantages being balanced with the inconveniences, measures are to be taken accordingly. Upon this whole matter, I said, that pleasure stood in opposition to other considerations of great weight, and so the decision was easy: and, since our Saviour offers us so great rewards, it is but reasonable he have the privilege of loading these promises with such conditions as are not in themselves grateful to our natural inclinations; for all that propose

high rewards have thereby a right to exact difficult performances.

To this he said, we are sure the terms are difficult, but are not so sure of the rewards. Upon this I told him, that we have the same assurance of the rewards that we have of the other parts of the Christian religion. We have the promises of God, made to us by Christ, confirmed by many miracles; we have the earnestness of these, in the quiet and peace which follow a good conscience, and in the resurrection of him from the dead who hath promised to raise us up. So that the reward is sufficiently assured to us; and there is no reason it should be given to us before the conditions are performed on which the promises are made. It is but reasonable we should trust God, and do our duty, in hopes of that eternal life, which God, who cannot lie, hath promised. The difficulties are not so great as those which sometimes the commonest concerns of life bring upon us: the learning some trades or sciences, the governing our health and affairs, bring us often under as great straits: so that it ought to be no just prejudice that there are some things in religion that are uneasy, since this is rather the effect of our corrupt natures, which are farther depraved by vicious habits, and can hardly turn to any new course of life without some pain, than of the dictates of Christianity, which are in themselves just and reasonable, and will be easy to us when renewed and in a good measure restored to our primitive integrity.

As for the exceptions he had to the maintenance of the clergy, and the authority to which they pretended, if they stretched their designs too far, the Gospel did plainly reprove them for it; so that it was very suitable to that church, which was so grossly faulty this way, to take the Scriptures out of the hands of the people, since they do so manifestly disclaim all such practices. The priests of the true Christian religion have no secrets among them which the world must not know; but are only an order of men, dedicated to God, to attend on sacred things, who ought to be holy in a more peculiar manner, since they are to handle the things of God. It was necessary that such persons should

have a due esteem paid them, and a fit maintenance appointed for them, so that they might be preserved from the contempt that follows poverty, and the distractions which the providing against it might otherwise involve them in. And as, in the order of the world, it was necessary, for the support of magistracy and government, and for preserving its esteem, that some state be used (though it is a happiness when great men have philosophical minds to despise the pageantry of it), so the plentiful supply of the clergy, if well used and applied by them, will certainly turn to the advantage of religion. And if some men, either through ambition or covetousness, used indirect means, or servile compliances, to aspire to such dignities, and, being possessed of them, applied their wealth either to luxury or vain pomp, or made great fortunes out of it for their families, these were personal failings, in which the doctrine of Christ was not concerned.

He upon that told me plainly, there was nothing that gave him, and many others, a more secret encouragement in their ill ways, than that those, who pretended to believe, lived so that they could not be thought to be in earnest when they said it; for he was sure religion was either a mere contrivance, or the most important thing that could be; so that, if he once believed, he would set himself in great earnest to live suitably to it. The aspirings that he had observed at court of some of the clergy, with the servile ways they took to attain to preferment, and the animosities among those of several parties about trifles, made him often think they suspected the things were not true, which in their sermons and discourses they so earnestly recommended. Of this he had gathered many instances: I knew some of them were mistakes and calumnies; yet I could not deny but something of them might be too true: and I publish this the more freely, to put all that pretend to religion, chiefly those that are dedicated to holy functions, in mind of the great obligation that lies on them to live suitable to their profession; since otherwise a great deal of the irreligion and atheism that are among us may too justly be charged on them: for wicked men are delighted out of measure

when they discover ill things in them, and conclude from thence, not only that they are hypocrites, but that religion itself is a cheat.

But I said to him upon this head, that though no good man could continue in the practice of any known sin, yet such might, by the violence or surprise of a temptation, to which they are liable as much as others, be on a sudden overcome to do an ill thing, to their great grief all their life after; and then it was a very unjust inference, upon some few failings, to conclude that such men do not believe themselves. But, how bad soever many are, it cannot be denied but there are also many, both of the clergy and laity, who give great and real demonstrations of the power religion has over them, in their contempt of the world, the strictness of their lives, their readiness to forgive injuries, to relieve the poor, and to do good on all occasions; and yet even these may have their failings, either in such things in which their constitutions are weak, or their temptations strong and sudden: and in all such cases we are to judge of men rather by the course of their lives than by the errors that they, through infirmity or surprise, may have slipt into.

These were the chief heads we have discoursed on; and, as far as I can remember, I have faithfully repeated the substance of our arguments. I have not concealed the strongest things he said to me; but, though I have not enlarged on all the excursions of his wit in setting them off, yet I have given them their full strength, as he expressed them, and, as far as I could recollect, have used his own words; so that I am afraid some may censure me for setting down these things so largely, which impious men may make an ill use of, and gather together to encourage and defend themselves in their vices: but, if they will compare them with the answers made to them, and the sense that so great and refined a wit had of them afterward, I hope they may, through the blessing of God, be not altogether ineffectual.

The issue of all our discourse was this: he told me he saw vice and impiety were as contrary to human, society as wild beasts let loose would be; and three-

fore he firmly resolved to change the whole method of his life, to become strictly just and true, to be chaste and temperate, to forbear swearing and irreligious discourse, to worship and pray to his Maker; and that, though he was not arrived at a full persuasion of Christianity, he would never employ his wit more to run it down, or to corrupt others.

Of which I have since a farther assurance from a person of quality who conversed much with him the last year of his life; to whom he would often say, that he was happy if he did believe, and that he would never endeavour to draw him from it.

To all this I answered, that a virtuous life would be very uneasy to him unless vicious inclinations were removed: it would otherwise be a perpetual constraint. Nor could it be effected without an inward principle to change him, and that was only to be had by applying himself to God for it in frequent and earnest prayer: and, I was sure, if his mind was once cleared of these disorders, and cured of those distempers, which vice brought on it, so great an understanding would soon see through all those flights of wit that do feed atheism and irreligion, which have a false glittering in them, that dazzle some weak-sighted minds, who have not capacity enough to penetrate farther than the surfaces of things; and so they stick in these toils, which the strength of his mind would soon break through, if it were once freed from those things that depressed and darkened it.

At this pass he was when he went from London about the beginning of April: he had not been long in the country, when he thought he was so well, that, being to go to his estate in Somersetshire, he rode thither post. This heat and violent motion did so inflame an ulcer that was in his bladder, that it raised a very great pain in those parts; yet he with much difficulty came back by coach to the lodge at Woodstock Park. He was then wounded both in body and mind; he understood physic and his own constitution and distemper so well, that he concluded he could hardly recover; for the ulcer broke, and vast quantities of purulent matter passed with his urine. But now the hand of God

touched him, and, as he told me, it was not only a general dark melancholy over his mind, such as he had formerly felt, but a most penetrating, cutting sorrow ; so that, though in his body he suffered extreme pain for some weeks, yet the agonies of his mind sometimes swallowed up the sense of what he felt in his body. He told me, and gave it me in charge to tell it to one for whom he was much concerned, that, though there were nothing to come after this life, yet all the pleasures he had ever known in sin were not worth that torture he had felt in his mind. He considered he had not only neglected and dishonoured, but had openly defied, his Maker, and had drawn many others into the like impieties ; so that he looked on himself as one that was in great danger of being damned. He then set himself wholly to turn to God unfeignedly, and to do all that was possible, in that little remainder of his life which was before him, to redeem those great portions of it that he had formerly so ill employed. The minister, that attended constantly on him, was that good and worthy man, Mr. Parsons, his mother's chaplain, who hath since his death preached, according to the directions he received from him, his funeral sermon ; in which there are so many remarkable passages, that I shall refer my reader to them, and will repeat none of them here, that I may not thereby lessen his desire to edify himself by that excellent discourse, which hath given so great and so general a satisfaction to all good and judicious readers. I shall speak cursorily of every thing but that which I had immediately from himself. He was visited every week of his sickness by his diocesan, that truly primitive prelate, the Lord Bishop of Oxford ; who, though he lived six miles from him, yet looked on this as so important a piece of his pastoral care, that he went often to him, and treated him with that decent plainness and freedom which is so natural to him ; and took care also that he might not, on terms more easy than safe, be at peace with himself. Dr. Marshall, the learned and worthy rector of Lincoln College in Oxford, being the minister of the parish, was also frequently with him ; and by these helps he was so directed and supported,

that he might not on the one hand satisfy himself with too superficial a repentance, nor on the other hand be out of measure oppressed with a sorrow without hope. As soon as I heard he was ill, but yet in such a condition that I might write to him, I wrote a letter to the best purpose I could. He ordered one, that was then with him, to assure me it was very welcome to him; but not satisfied with that, he sent me an answer, which, as the Countess of Rochester, his mother, told me, he dictated every word, and then signed it. I was once unwilling to have published it, because of a compliment in it to myself, far above my merit, and not very well suiting with his condition.

But the sense he expresses in it of the change then wrought on him, hath upon second thoughts prevailed with me to publish it, leaving out what concerns myself.

‘ Woodstock Park, Oxfordshire.

‘ *My most honoured Dr. Burnet!*

‘ My spirits and body decay so equally together, that I shall write you a letter, as weak as I am in person. I begin to value churchmen above all men in the world, &c. If God be yet pleased to spare me longer in this world, I hope in your conversation to be exalted to that degree of piety, that the world may see how much I abhor what I so long loved, and how much I glory in repentance and in God’s service. Bestow your prayers upon me, that God would spare me (if it be his good will) to shew a true repentance and amendment of life for the time to come: or else, if the Lord pleaseth to put an end to my worldly being now, that he would mercifully accept of my death-bed repentance, and perform that promise that he hath been pleased to make, that, at what time soever a sinner doth repent, he would receive him. Put up these prayers, most dear doctor, to Almighty God, for

Your most obedient,

Languishing servant,

ROCHESTER.’

‘ June 25, 1680.’

He told me, when I saw him, that he hoped I would come to him upon that general insinuation of the de-

sire he had of my company; and he was loath to write more plainly, not knowing whether I could easily spare so much time. I told him, that, on the other hand, I looked on it as a presumption to come so far when he was in such excellent hands; and, though perhaps the freedom formerly between us might have excused it with those to whom it was known, yet it might have the appearance of so much vanity to such as were strangers to it; so that, till I received his letter, I did not think it convenient to come to him; and then, not hearing that there was any danger of a sudden change, I delayed going to him till the twentieth of July. At my coming to his house, an accident fell out not worth mentioning, but that some have made a story of it. His servant, being a Frenchman, carried up my name wrong, so that he mistook it for another who had sent to him that he would undertake his cure, and he, being resolved not to meddle with him, did not care to see him: this mistake lasted some hours, with which I was the better contented, because he was not then in such a condition that my being about him could have been of any use to him; for that night was like to have been his last. He had a convulsion fit, and raved; but, opiates being given him, after some hours' rest, his raving left him so entirely, that it never again returned to him.

I cannot easily express the transport he was in when he awoke and saw me by him: he broke out in the tenderest expressions concerning my kindness in coming so far to see such a one, using terms of great abhorrence concerning himself, which I forbear to relate. He told me, as his strength served him at several snatches, for he was then so low that he could not hold up discourse long at once, what sense he had of his past life; what sad apprehension for having so offended his Maker and dishonoured his Redeemer; what horrors he had gone through, and how much his mind was turned to call on God and on his crucified Saviour, so that he hoped he should obtain mercy; for he believed he had sincerely repented, and had now a calm in his mind after that storm that he had been in for some weeks. He had strong apprehensions and persuasions

of his admittance to heaven, of which he spake once, not without some extraordinary emotion. It was, indeed, the only time that he spake with any great warmth to me; for his spirits were then low, and so far spent, that, though those about him told me he had expressed formerly great fervour in his devotions, yet, nature was so much sunk, that these were in a great measure fallen off. But he made me pray often with him, and spoke of his conversion to God as a thing now grown up in him to a settled and calm serenity. He was very anxious to know my opinion of a death-bed repentance. I told him, that before I gave any resolution in that, it would be convenient that I should be acquainted more particularly with the circumstances and progress of his repentance.

Upon this he satisfied me in many particulars. He said he was now persuaded both of the truth of Christianity and of the power of inward grace, of which he gave me this strange account:—He said, Mr. Parsons, in order to his conviction, read to him the fifty-third chapter of the prophecy of Isaiah, and compared that with the history of our Saviour's passion, that he might there see a prophecy concerning it, written many ages before it was done; which the Jews, that blasphemed Jesus Christ, still kept in their hands, as a book divinely inspired. He said to me, that, as he heard it read, he felt an inward force upon him, which did so enlighten his mind and convince him, that he could resist it no longer; for the words had an authority which did shoot like rays or beams in his mind; so that he was not only convinced by the reasonings he had about it, which satisfied his understanding, but by a power which did so effectually constrain him, that he did ever after as firmly believe in his Saviour as if he had seen him in the clouds. He had made it to be read so often to him, that he had got it by heart, and went through a great part of it, in discourse with me, with a sort of heavenly pleasure, giving me his reflections on it. Some few I remember. 'Who hath believed our report?' (Verse 1.) Here, he said, was foretold the opposition the Gospel was to meet with from such wretches as he was. 'He hath no form

nor comeliness, and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him.' (Verse 2.) On this, he said, the meanness of his appearance and person has made vain and foolish people disparage him, because he came not in such a fool's coat as they delight in. What he said on the other parts I do not well remember; and indeed I was so affected with what he said then to me, that the general transport I was under during the whole discourse, made me less capable to remember these particulars as I wish I had done.

He told me, that he had thereupon received the sacrament with great satisfaction; and that was increased by the pleasure he had in his lady's receiving it with him, who had been for some years misled into the communion of the church of Rome, and he himself had been not a little instrumental in procuring it, as he freely acknowledged: so that it was one of the joy-fullest things that befel him in his sickness, that he had seen that mischief removed in which he had so great a hand: and, during his whole sickness, he expressed so much tenderness and true kindness to his lady, that; as it easily effaced the remembrance of every thing wherein he had been in fault formerly, so it drew from her the most passionate care and concern for him that was possible; which indeed deserves a higher character than is decent to give of a person yet alive. But I shall confine my discourse to the dead.

He told me, he had overcome all his resentments to all the world, so that he bore ill-will to no person, nor hated any upon personal accounts. He had given a true state of his debts, and had ordered to pay them all, as far as his estate, that was not settled, could go; and was confident that, if all that was owing to him were paid to his executors, his creditors would be all satisfied. He said, he found his mind now possessed with another sense of things than ever he had formerly. He did not repine under all his pain; and, in one of the sharpest fits he was under while I was with him, he said, he did willingly submit; and, looking up to heaven, said, 'God's holy will be done: I bless him

for all he does to me.' He professed, he was contented either to die or live, as should please God; and, though it was a foolish thing for a man to pretend to choose whether he would die or live, yet he wished rather to die. He knew he could never be so well that life should be comfortable to him. He was confident he should be happy if he died; but he feared, if he lived, he might relapse: 'And then,' said he to me, 'in what a condition shall I be if I relapse after all this?' But, he said, he trusted in the grace and goodness of God, and was resolved to avoid all those temptations, that course of life and company, that were likely to ensnare him; and he desired to live on no other account, but that he might, by the change of his manners, some way take off the high scandal his former behaviour had given. All these things, at several times, I had from him, besides some messages, which very well became a dying penitent, to some of his former friends, and a charge to publish any thing concerning him that might be a mean to reclaim others; praying God, that, as his life had done much hurt, so his death might do some good.

Having understood all these things from him, and being pressed to give him my opinion plainly about his eternal state, I told him, that, though the promises of the Gospel did all depend upon a real change of heart and life, as the indispensable condition upon which they were made; and that it was scarcely possible to know certainly whether our hearts are changed, unless it appeared in our lives; and, the repentance of most dying men being like the howlings of condemned prisoners for pardon, which flowed from no sense of their crimes, but from the horror of approaching death, there was little reason to encourage any to hope much from such sorrowing; yet, certainly, if the mind of a sinner, even on a death-bed, be truly renewed and turned to God, so great is his mercy, that he will receive him even in that extremity. He said, he was sure his mind was entirely turned; and, though horror had given him his first awaking, yet that was now grown up into a settled faith and conversion.

There is but one prejudice lies against all this, to

defeat the good ends of Divine Providence by it upon others as well as on himself, and that is, that it was a part of his disease, and that the lowness of his spirits made such an alteration in him, that he was not what he had formerly been ; and this some have carried so far as to say that he died mad. These reports are raised by those who are unwilling that the last thoughts or words of a person every way so extraordinary should have any effect either on themselves or others ; and it is to be feared, that some have so far seared their consciences, and exceeded the common measures of sin and infidelity, that neither this testimony, nor one coming from the dead would signify much towards their conviction. That this Lord was either mad or stupid is a thing so notoriously untrue, that it is the greatest impudence for any that were about him to report it, and a very unreasonable credulity in others to believe it. All the while I was with him, after he had slept out the disorders of the fit he was in the first night, he was not only without ravings, but had a clearness in his thoughts, in his memory, in his reflections on things and persons, far beyond what I ever saw in a person so low in his strength. He was not able to hold out long in a discourse, for his spirits failed ; but once for half an hour, and often for a quarter of an hour, after he awaked, he had a vivacity in his discourse that was extraordinary, and in all things like himself. He called often for his children, his son (afterward earl of Rochester,) and his three daughters, and spake to them with a sense and feeling that cannot be expressed in writing. He called me once to look on them all, and said, ‘ See how good God has been to me, in giving me so many blessings, and I have carried myself to him like an ungracious and unthankful dog.’ He once talked a great deal to me of public affairs, and of many persons and things, with the same clearness of thought and expression that he had ever done before : so that by no sign but his weakness of body, and giving over discourse so soon, could I perceive a difference between what his parts formerly were and what they were then.

And that, wherein the presence of his mind appeared most, was in the total change of an ill habit grown so

much upon him, that he could hardly govern himself, when he was any ways heated, three minutes without falling into it: I mean swearing. He had acknowledged to me the former winter, that he abhorred it as a base and indecent thing, and had set himself much to break it off; but he confessed, that he was so overpowered by that ill custom, that he could not speak with any warmth without repeated oaths, which, upon any sort of provocation, came almost naturally from him; but in his last remorse this did so sensibly affect him, that, by a resolute and constant watchfulness, the habit of it was perfectly mastered: so that, upon the returns of pain, which were very severe and frequent upon him the last day I was with him, or upon such displeasures as people sick or in pain are apt to take on a sudden at those about them, on all these occasions he never swore an oath all the while I was there.

Once he was offended with the delay of one he thought made not haste enough with somewhat he called for, and said, in a little heat, 'That damned fellow: ' soon after I told him, I was glad to find his style so reformed, and that he had so entirely overcome that ill habit of swearing: only that word of calling any damned, which had returned upon him, was not decent. His answer was: 'Oh! that language of fiends, which was so familiar to me, hangs yet about me: sure none has deserved more to be damned than I have done.' And, after he had humbly asked God pardon for it, he desired me to call the person to him, that he might ask him forgiveness: but I told him that was needless; for he had said it of one that did not hear it, and so could not be offended by it.

In this disposition of mind did he continue all the while I was with him, four days together: he was then brought so low, that all hopes of recovery were gone. Much purulent matter came from him with his urine, which he passed always with some pain, but one day with inexpressible torment: yet he bore it decently, without breaking into repinings or impatient complaints. He imagined he had a stone in his passage; but, it being searched, none was found. The whole substance of his body was drained by the ulcer,

and nothing was left but skin and bone ; and, by lying much on his back, the parts there began to mortify : but he had been formerly so low, that he seemed as much past all hopes of life as now : which made him one morning, after a full and sweet night's rest, procured by laudanum given him without his knowledge, to fancy it was an effort of nature, and to begin to entertain some hopes of recovery : for he said he felt himself perfectly well, and that he had nothing ailing him but an extreme weakness, which might go off in time : and then he entertained me with the scheme he had laid down for the rest of his life ; how retired, how strict, and how studious, he intended to be : but this was soon over ; for he quickly felt that it was only the effect of a good sleep, and that he was still in a very desperate state.

I thought to have left him on Friday ; but, not without some passion, he desired me to stay that day. There appeared no symptom of present death : and a worthy physician, then with him, told me, that, though he was so low, that an accident might carry him away on a sudden, yet, without that, he thought he might live yet some weeks. So, on Saturday, at four o'clock in the morning, I left him, being the 24th of July. But I durst not take leave of him ; for he had expressed so great an unwillingness to part with me the day before, that, if I had not presently yielded to one day's stay, it was like to have given him some trouble, therefore I thought it better to leave him without any formality. Some hours after he asked for me ; and, when it was told him that I was gone, he seemed to be troubled, and said, ' Has my friend left me ? then I shall die shortly.' After that he spake but once or twice till he died : he lay much silent : once they heard him praying very devoutly. And on Monday, about two of the clock in the morning, he died without any convulsion, or so much as a groan.

THE CONCLUSION.

THUS he lived, and thus he died in the three-and-thirtieth year of his age. Nature had fitted him for great things, and his knowledge and observation qualified him to have been one of the most extraordinary men, not only of his nation, but of the age he lived in; and I do verily believe, that, if God had thought fit to have continued him longer in the world, he had been the wonder and delight of all that knew him: but the infinite wise God knew better what was fit for him, and what the age deserved; for men, who have so cast off all sense of God and religion, deserve not so signal a blessing as the example and conviction which the rest of his life might have given them. And I am apt to think that the Divine Goodness took pity on him; and, seeing the sincerity of his repentance, would try and venture him no more in circumstances of temptation, perhaps too hard for human frailty. Now he is at rest; and, I am very confident, enjoys the fruits of his late, but sincere, repentance. But such as live, and still go on in their sins and impieties, and will not be awakened, neither by this nor the other alarms that are about their ears, are, it seems, given up by God to a judicial hardness and impenitency.

Here is a public instance of one who lived of their side, but could not die of it: and, though none of all our libertines understood better than he the secret mysteries of sin, had more studied every thing that could support a man in it, and had more resisted all external means of conviction than he had done; yet, when the hand of God inwardly touched him, he could no longer kick against those pricks, but humbled himself under that mighty hand, and, as he used often to say in his prayers, he, who had so often denied him, found then no other shelter but his mercies and compassions.

I have written this account with all the tenderness and caution I could use; and, in whatsoever I may have failed, I have been strict in the truth of what I have related, remembering that of Job, ‘Will ye lie

for God ?' Religion has strength and evidence enough in itself, and needs no support from lies and made stories. I do not pretend to have given the formal words that he said, though I have done that where I could remember them. But I have written this with the same sincerity that I would have done had I known I had been to die immediately after I had finished it. I did not take notes of our discourses last winter after we parted ; so I may perhaps, in the setting out of my answers to him, have enlarged on several things both more fully, and more regularly, than I could say then in such free discourses as we had. I am not so sure of all I set down, as said by me, as I am of all said by him to me ; but yet the substance of the greatest part, even of that, is the same.

It remains, that I humbly and earnestly beseech all that shall take this book in their hands, that they will consider it entirely, and not wrest some parts to an ill intention. God, the searcher of hearts, knows with what fidelity I have writ it: but, if any will drink up only the poison that may be in it, without taking also the antidote here given to those ill principles ; or considering the sense that this great person had of them, when he reflected seriously on them ; and will rather confirm themselves in their ill ways by the scruples and objections which I set down, than be edified by the other parts of it ; as I will look on it as a great infelicity that I should have said any that may strengthen them in their impieties, so the sincerity of my intentions will, I doubt not, excuse me at his hands, to whom I offer up this small service.

I have now performed, in the best manner I could, what was left on me by this noble Lord, and have done with the part of an historian. I shall in the next place say somewhat as a divine. So extraordinary a text does almost force a sermon, though it is plain enough itself, and speaks with so loud a voice, that those who are not awakened by it will perhaps consider nothing that I can say. If our libertines will become so far sober as to examine their former course of life with that disengagement and impartiality which they must acknowledge a wise man ought to use in things of

greatest consequence, and balance the account of what they have got by their debaucheries with the mischiefs they have brought on themselves and others by them, they will soon see what a bad bargain they have made. Some diversion, mirth, and pleasure, is all they can promise themselves; but to obtain this, how many evils are they to suffer? How have many wasted their strength, brought many diseases on their bodies, and precipitated their age in the pursuit of those things? And as they bring old age early on themselves, so it becomes a miserable state of life to the greatest part of them; gout, strangury, and other infirmities, being severe reckonings for their past follies; not to mention the more loathsome diseases, with their no less loathsome and troublesome cures, which they must often go through, who deliver themselves up to forbidden pleasures. Many are disfigured beside with the marks of their intemperance and lewdness; and, which is yet sadder, an infection is derived oftentimes on their innocent but unhappy issue, who being descended from so vitiated an original, suffer for their excesses. Their fortunes are profusely wasted, both by their neglect of their affairs, they being so buried in vice, that they cannot employ either their time or spirits, so much exhausted by intemperance, to consider them; and by that prodigal expense which their lusts put them upon. They suffer no less in their credit, the chief mean to recover an entangled estate: for that irregular expense forces them to so many mean shifts, makes them so often false to all their promises and resolutions, that they must needs feel how much they have lost that, which a gentleman, and men of ingenuous tempers, do sometimes prefer even to life itself,—their honour and reputation. Nor do they suffer less in the noble powers of their minds, which, by a long course of such dissolute practices, come to sink and degenerate so far, that not a few, whose first blossoms gave the most promising hopes, have so withered, as to become incapable of great and generous undertakings, and to be disabled to every thing, but to wallow like swine in the filth of sensuality, their spirits being dissipated, and their minds so benumbed, as

to be wholly unfit for business, and even indisposed to think.

That this dear price should be paid for a little wild mirth, or gross and corporal pleasure, is a thing of such unparalleled folly, that, if there were not too many such instances before us, it might seem incredible. To all this we must add, the horrors that their ill actions raise in them, and the hard shifts they are put to, to stave off these, either by being perpetually drunk or mad, or by an habitual disuse of thinking and reflecting on their actions, and (if these arts will not perfectly quiet them) by taking sanctuary in such atheistical principles as may at least mitigate the sourness of their thoughts, though they cannot absolutely settle their minds.

If the state of mankind and human societies is considered, what mischiefs can be equal to those which follow these courses? Such persons are a plague wherever they come; they can neither be trusted nor beloved, having cast off both truth and goodness, which procure confidence and attract love: they corrupt some by their ill practices, and do irreparable injuries to the rest; they run great hazards, and put themselves to much trouble, and all this to do what is in their power to make damnation as sure to themselves as possibly they can. What influence this has on the whole nation, is but too visible; how the bonds of nature, wedlock, and all other relations, are quite broken: virtue is thought an antique piece of formality, and religion the effect of cowardice or knavery. These are the men that would reform the world, by bringing it under a new system of intellectual and moral principles; but, bate them a few bold and lewd jests, what have they ever done, or designed to do, to make them to be remembered, except it be with detestation? They are the scorn of the present age, and their names must rot in the next. Here they have before them an instance of one, who was deeply corrupted with the contagion, which he first derived from others, but unhappily heightened it much himself.—He was a master, indeed, and not a bare trifler with wit, as some of those are who repeat, and that but scurvily, what they

may have heard from him or some others, and with impudence and laughter will face the world down, as if they were to teach it wisdom ; who, God knows, cannot follow one thought a step farther than as they have conned it ; and, take from them their borrowed wit and mimical humour, and they will presently appear, what they indeed are, the least and lowest of men.

If they will, or if they can, think a little, I wish they would consider, that, by their own principles, they cannot be sure that religion is only a contrivance : all they pretend to is only to weaken some arguments that are brought for it ; but they have not brow enough to say, they can prove that their own principles are true, so that at most they bring their cause no higher than that it is possible religion may not be true. But still it is possible it may be true, and they have no shame left that will deny that it is also probable it may be true ; and, if so, then what madmen are they who run so great a hazard for nothing ? By their own confession, it may be there is a God, a judgment, and a life to come ; and, if so, then he that believes these things, and lives according to them, as he enjoys a long course of health and quiet of mind, an innocent relish of many true pleasures, and the serenities which virtue raises in him, with the good-will and friendship which it procures him from others ; so when he dies, if these things prove mistakes, he does not outlive his error, nor shall it afterward raise trouble or disquiet in him, if he then ceases to be ; but, if these things be true, he shall be infinitely happy in that state, where his present small services shall be so excessively rewarded. The libertines, on the other side, as they know they must die, so the thoughts of death must be always melancholy to them : they can have no pleasant view of that which yet they know cannot be very far from them ; the least painful idea they can have of it is, that it is an extinction and ceasing to be ; but they are not sure even of that : some secret whis- pers within make them, whether they will or not, tremble at the apprehensions of another state : neither their tinsel wit, nor superficial learning, nor their im-

potent assaults upon the weak side, as they think, of religion, nor the boldest notions of impiety, will hold them up then. Of all which I now present so lively an instance, as perhaps history can scarce parallel.

Here were parts so exalted by nature, and improved by study, and yet so corrupted and debased by irreligion and vice, that he, who was made to be one of the glories of his age, was become a proverb, and if his repentance had not interposed, would have been one of the greatest reproaches of it. He knew well the small strength of that weak cause, and at first despised but afterward abhorred it. He felt the mischiefs, and saw the madness of it; and, therefore, though he lived to the scandal of many, he died as much to the edification of all those who saw him: and, because they were but a small number, he desired that he might even when dead yet speak. He was willing nothing should be concealed that might cast reproach on himself and on sin, and offer up glory to God and religion. So that, though he lived a heinous sinner, yet he died a most exemplary penitent.

It would be a vain and ridiculous inference for any from hence to draw arguments about the abstruse secrets of predestination, and to conclude, that, if they are of the number of the elect, they may live as they will, and that Divine Grace will at some time or other violently constrain them, and irresistibly work upon them. But as St. Paul was called to that eminent service, for which he was appointed, in so stupendous a manner as is no warrant for others to expect such a vocation, so, if upon some signal occasions such conversions fall out, which, how far they are short of miracles, I shall not determine, it is not only a vain, but a pernicious imagination, for any to go on in their ill ways upon a fond conceit and expectation that the like will befall them: for, whatsoever God's extraordinary dealings with some may be, we are sure his common way of working is, by offering these things to our rational faculties, which, by the assistances of his grace, if we improve them all we can, shall be certainly effectual for our reformation; and, if we neglect or abuse these, we put ourselves beyond the common

methods of God's mercy, and have no reason to expect that wonders should be wrought for our conviction; which, though they sometimes happen, that they may give an effectual alarm for the awaking of others, yet it would destroy the whole design of religion, if men should depend upon or look for such an extraordinary and forcible operation of God's grace.

And I hope, that those who have had some sharp reflections on their past life, so as to be resolved to forsake their ill courses, will not take the least encouragement to themselves in that desperate and unreasonable resolution of putting off their repentance till they can sin no longer, from the hopes I have expressed of this Lord's obtaining mercy at the last, and from thence presume, that they also shall be received when they turn to God on their death-beds: for, what mercy soever God may shew to such as really were never inwardly touched before that time, yet there is no reason to think, that those who have dealt so disingenuously with God and their own souls, as designedly to put off their turning to him upon such considerations, should then be accepted with him. They may die suddenly, or by a disease that may so disorder their understandings, that they shall not be in any capacity of reflecting on their past lives. The inward conversion of our minds is not so in our power that it can be effected without divine grace assisting; and there is no reason for those, who have neglected these assistances all their lives, to expect them in so extraordinary a manner at their death. Nor can one, especially in a sickness that is quick and critical, be able to do those things that are often indispensably necessary to make his repentance complete; and even in a longer disease, in which there are larger opportunities for these things. Yet there is great reason to doubt of a repentance, begun and kept up merely by terror, and not from any ingenuous principle. In which, though I will not take on me to limit the mercies of God, which are boundless, yet this must be confessed, that to delay repentance with such a design, is to put the greatest concernment we have upon the most dangerous and desperate issue that is possible.

But they that will still go on in their sins, and be so partial to them as to use all endeavours to strengthen themselves in their evil course, even by these very things which the providence of God sets before them for the casting down of these strong holds of sin—what is to be said to such? It is to be feared, that, if they obstinately persist, they will by degrees come within that curse, ‘He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still. But, if our Gospel is hid, it is hid to them that are lost, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them.’

END OF LORD ROCHESTER'S LIFE.

THE LIFE
OF THE
MOST LEARNED, REVEREND, AND PIOUS
DR. H. HAMMOND.

DR. HENRY HAMMOND,

WHOSE life is now attempted to be written, was born upon the 18th of August in the year 1605, at Chertsey in Surry; a place formerly of remark for Julius Cæsar's supposed passing his army there over the Thames, in his enterprise upon this island; as also for the entertainment of devotion in its earliest reception by our Saxon ancestors; and of later years, for the charity of having given burial to the equally pious and unfortunate Prince, King Henry VI.

He was the youngest son of Dr. John Hammond, physician to Prince Henry; and from that great favourer of meriting servants and their relations, had the honour at the font to receive his Christian name.

Being yet in his long coats (which heretofore were usually worn beyond the years of infancy), he was sent to Eton school; where his pregnancy having been advantaged by the more than paternal care and industry of his father (who was an exact critic in the learned languages, especially the Greek, whereof he had been public Professor in the University of Cambridge), became the observation of those that knew him; for in that tenderness of age he was not only a proficient in Greek and Latin, but had also some knowledge in the elements of Hebrew; in the latter of which tongues, it being then rarely heard of even out of grammar-schools, he grew the tutor of those who begun to write themselves men, but thought it no shame to learn of one whose knowledge seemed rather infused than acquired, or in whom the learned languages might be thought to be the mother-tongue. His skill in Greek was particularly advantaged by the conversation and kindness of Mr. Allen, one of the fellows of the College, excellently seen in that language, and a great assistant of Sir Henry Savile, in his magnificent edition of St. Chrysostom.

His sweetness of carriage is very particularly remembered by his contemporaries, who observed that he was never engaged, upon any occasion, into fights or quarrels; as also, that at times allowed for play he would steal from his fellows into places of privacy, there to say his prayers: omens of his future pacific temper and eminent devotion.

At thirteen years old he was thought, and, what is much more rare, was indeed ripe for the University, and accordingly sent to Magdalen College in Oxford, where, not long after, he was chosen Demi; and though he stood low upon the roll, by a very unusual concurrence of providential events, happened to be sped: and though, having then lost his father, he became destitute of the advantage, which potent recommendation might have given; yet, his merit voting for him, as soon as capable, he was chosen Fellow.

Being to proceed Master of Arts, he was made reader of the Natural Philosophy Lecture in the College, and also was employed in making the funeral oration on the highly-meriting President Dr. Langton.

Having taken his degree, he presently bought a system of divinity, with design to apply himself straightway to that study: but upon second thoughts he returned for a time to human learning; and afterward, when he resumed his purpose for theology, took a quite different course of reading from the other too much usual, beginning that science at the upper end, as conceiving it most reasonable to search for primitive truth in the primitive writers, and not to suffer his understanding to be prepossessed by the contrived and interested schemes of modern, and withal obnoxious authors.

Anno 1629, being twenty-four years of age, the statutes of his House directing, and the Canons of the Church then regularly permitting it, he entered into holy orders, and upon the same grounds, not long after, took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, giving as happy proof of his proficiency in sacred, as before he had done in secular knowledge. During the whole time of his abode in the University, he generally spent thirteen hours of the day in study; by which assiduity, besides an exact dispatch of the whole course of Philosophy;

he read over in a manner all classic authors that are extant; and upon the more considerable wrote, as he passed, scholia and critical emendations, and drew up indexes for his private use at the beginning and end of each book : all which remain at this time, and testify his indefatigable pains to as many as have perused his library.

In the year 1633, the Rev. Dr. Frewen, the then president of his college, now Lord Archbishop of York, gave him the honour to supply one of his courses at the court; where the Right Honourable the Earl of Leicester happening to be an auditor, he was so deeply affected with the sermon, and took so just a measure of the merit of the preacher thence, that the rectory of Penshurst, being at that time void, and in his gift, he immediately offered him the presentation; which being accepted, he was inducted on the twenty-second of August in the same year; and thenceforth, from the scholastic retirements of a university life, applied himself to the more busy entertainments of a rural privacy, and what some have called the being buried in a living : and being to leave the House, he thought not fit to take that advantage of his place, which, from sacrilege, or selling of the Founder's charity, was by custom grown to be prudence and good husbandry.

In the discharge of his ministerial function, he satisfied not himself in diligent and constant preaching only (a performance wherein some of late have fancied all religion to consist); but much more conceived himself obliged to the offering up the solemn daily sacrifice of prayer for his people, administering the sacraments, relieving the poor, keeping hospitality, reconciling of differences amongst neighbours, visiting the sick, catechising the youth.

As to the first of these, his preaching, it was not at the ordinary rate of the times, an unpremeditated, undigested effusion of shallow and crude conceptions; but a rational and just discourse, that was to teach the priest as well as the lay-hearer. His method was (which likewise he recommended to his friends), after every sermon to resolve upon the ensuing subject; that being done, to pursue the course of study which

he was then in hand with, reserving the close of the week for the provision for the next Lord's day: whereby not only a constant progress was made in science, but materials unawares were gained unto the immediate future work: for he said, be the subjects treated of never so distant, somewhat will infallibly fall in conducive unto the present purpose.

The offices of prayer he had in his church, not only upon the Sundays and festivals, and their eves, as also Wednesdays and Fridays, according to the appointment of the Rubric (which strict duty and ministration, when it is examined to the bottom, will prove the greatest objection against the Liturgy; as that which, besides its own trouble and austerity, leaves no leisure for factious and licentious meetings at fairs and markets); but every day in the week, and twice on Saturdays and holiday eves: for his assistance wherein he kept a curate, and allowed him a comfortable salary. And at those devotions he took order that his family should give diligent and exemplary attendance; which was the easilier performed, it being guided by his mother, a woman of ancient virtue, and one to whom he paid a more than filial obedience.

As to the administration of the sacrament, he reduced it to an imitation, though a distant one, of primitive frequency, to once a month, and therewith its anciently inseparable appendant, the offertory: wherein his instruction and happily insinuating example so far prevailed, that there was thenceforth little need of ever making any tax for the poor. Nay (if the report of a sober person, born and bred up in that parish, be to be believed), in short time a stock was raised, to be always ready for the apprenticing of young children, whose parents' condition made the provision for them an equal charity to both the child and parent. And after this there yet remained a superplusage for the assistance of the neighbour parishes.

For the relief of the poor, besides the forementioned expedient, wherein others were sharers with him, unto his private charity, the dedicating the tenth of all receipts, and the daily alms given at the door; he constantly set apart over and above every week a certain

rate in money : and however rarely his own rent-days occurred, the indigent had two and fifty quarter-days returning in his year. Yet farther, another art of charity he had, the selling corn to his poor neighbours at a rate below the market-price ; which, though, as he said, he had reason to do, gaining thereby the charge of portage, was a great benefit to them, who, besides the abatement of price, and possibly forbearance, saved thereby a day's work.

He that was thus liberal to the necessitous poor, was no less hospitable to those of better quality ; and as at other times he frequently invited his neighbours to his table, so more especially on Sundays, which seldom passed at any time without bringing some of them his guests ; but here, beyond the weekly treatments, the Christmas festival had a peculiar allowance to support it. He knew well how much the application at the table enforced the doctrines of the pulpit, and how subservient the endearing of his person was to the recommending his instructions, how far upon these motives our Saviour thought fit to eat with publicans and sinners, and how effectual the loaves were to the procuring of disciples.

As by public admonition he most diligently instilled that great fundamental doctrine of peace and love, so did he likewise in his private address and conversation ; being never at peace in himself, till he had procured it amongst his neighbours ; wherein God so blessed him, that he not only attained his purpose of uniting distant parties unto each other ; but, contrary to the usual fate of the reconcilers, gained them to himself ; there having been no person of his function any where better beloved than he when present, or lamented more when absent, by his flock. Of which tender and very filial affection, instead of more, we may take two instances the one, that he being driven away, and his books plundered, one of his neighbours bought them in his behalf, and preserved them for him till the end of the war : the other, that during his abode at Penshurst he never had any vexatious law-dispute about his dues, but had his tithes fully paid, and not of the most refuse parts, but generally the very best.

Though he judged the time of sickness an improper season for the great work of repentance, yet he esteemed it a most useful preparative, the voice of God himself exhorting to it; and therefore, not only when desired made his visits to all such as stood in need of those his charities, but prevented their requests by early and by frequent coming to them. And this he was so careful of, that after his remove from Penshurst, being at Oxford, and hearing of the sickness of one of his parishioners, he from thence sent to him those instructions, which he judged useful in that exigent, and which he could not give at nearer distance..

For the institution of youth in the rudiments of piety, his custom was, during the warmer season of the year, to spend an hour before evening prayer in catechising; whereat the parents and older sort were wont to be present, and from whence (as he with comfort was used to say) they reaped more benefit than from his sermons; where it may not be superfluous to observe, that he introduced no new form of catechism, but adhered to that of the Church; rendering it fully intelligible to the meanest capacities by his explanations. It may be useful withal to advert, that if in those times catechetical institution were very seasonable, it will now be much more: when principles have been exchanged for dreams of words and notions, if not for a worse season of profane contempt of Christian truth. But to return: besides all this, that there might be no imaginable assistance wanting, he took care for the providing an able schoolmaster in the parish, which he continued during the whole time of his abode.

And as he thus laboured in the spiritual building up of souls, he was not negligent of the material fabric committed to his trust; but repaired with a very great expence (the annual charge of 100*l*.) his parsonage-house; till, from an incommodious ruin, he had rendered it a fair and pleasant dwelling, with the adherent conveniences of gardens and orchards.

While he was thus busy on his charge, though he so prodigally laid out himself upon the interests of his flock, as he might seem to have nothing left for other

purposes; and his humility recommended above all things privacy and retirement to him; yet when the uses of the public called him forth, he readily obeyed the summons, and frequently preached both at St. Paul's Cross, and the visitations of his brethren the clergy (a specimen whereof appears in print), as also at the cathedral church of Chichester, where, by the unsought-for favour of the Reverend Father in God, Brian, then lord bishop of that see, now of Winchester, he had an interest, and had the dignity of arch-deacon; which at the beginning of the late troubles falling to him, he managed with great zeal and prudence, not only by all the charms of Christian rhetoric, persuading to obedience and union; but by the force of demonstration, charging it as most indispensable duty, and (what was then not so readily believed) the greatest temporal interest of the inferior clergy: wherein the eminent importance of the truths he would enforce so far prevailed over his otherwise insuperable modesty, that in a full assembly of the clergy, as he afterward confessed, he broke off from what he had premeditated, and out of the abundance of his heart spoke to his auditory; and by the blessing of God, to which he attributed it, found a very signal reception.

In the year 1639, he proceeded Doctor in Divinity; his seniority in the University, and employment in the church, and (what perchance was a more importunate motive) the desire of eleven of his friends and contemporaries in the same house, whom not to accompany might be interpreted an affected pride and singularity, at least an unkindness, jointly persuading him to it.

His performance in the act, where he answered the doctors, was to the equal satisfaction and wonder of his hearers; a country life usually contracting at the least an unreadiness to the dexterous management of those exercises, which was an effect undiscernible in him.

About this time he became a member of the convocation called with the short parliament in 1640, as after this he was named to be of the assembly of divines; his invincible loyalty to his prince, and obedience to his mother the church, not being so valid ar-

guments against his nomination, as the repute of his learning and virtue were, on the other part, to have some title to him.

And now that conformity became a crime, and tumults improving into hostility and war, such a crime as had chastisements severe enough; though the committee of the country summoned him before them, and used those their best arguments of persuasion, threatenings, and reproaches, he still went on in his regular practice, and continued it till the middle of July 1643: at which time there being in his neighbourhood about Tunbridge an attempt in behalf of the King; and his doctrine and example having had that good influence, as it was supposed, to have made many more ready to the discharge of their duty; it being defeated, the good Doctor (the malice of one who designed to succeed in his living being withal assistant) was forced to secure himself by retirement; which he did, withdrawing himself to his old tutor Dr. Buckner; to whom he came about the 25th of July, early in the morning, in such a habit as that exigence made necessary for him, and whither not many days before his old friend and fellow-pupil Dr. Oliver came upon the same errand: which accident, and the necessity to leave his flock, as the Doctor afterward frequently acknowledged, was that which did most affect him of any that he felt in his whole life: amidst which, though he was no valuer of trifles, or any thing that looked like such, he had so extraordinary a dream, that he could not then despise, nor ever afterwards forget it.

It was thus: He thought himself and a multitude of others to have been abroad in a bright and cheerful day, when on a sudden there seemed a separation to be made, and he, with the far less number, to be placed at a distance from the rest; and then the clouds gathering, a most tempestuous storm arose, with thundering and lightnings, with spouts of impetuous rain, and violent gusts of wind, and whatever else might add unto a scene of horror; particularly balls of fire, that shot themselves amongst the ranks of those that stood in the lesser party: when a gentle whisper seemed to interrupt those other louder noises, saying, 'Be still,

and ye shall receive no harm.' Amidst these terrors the Doctor falling to his prayers, soon after the tempest ceased, and that known cathedral-anthem begun, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come away,' with which he awoke. The correspondent event of all which he found verified signally in the preservation both of himself and his friends, in doing of their duties; the which with much content he was used to mention. Beside, being himself taken to the choirs of angels at the close of that land-hurricane of ours, whereof that dismal apparition was only a faint emblem; he gave thereby too literal a completion to his dream, and the unhappy credit of bordering upon prophecy.

In this retirement the two Doctors remained about three weeks, till an alarm was brought, that a strict inquiry was made for Dr. Hammond, and a hundred pound promised as a reward for him that should produce him: which suggestion though they easily apprehended to have a possibility of being false, yet they concluded a necessary ground for their remove.

Upon this they resolve to be gone; and Dr. Oliver having an interest in Winchester, which was then in the King's quarters, they chose that as the next place of their retreat. But being on the way thither, Dr. Oliver, who had sent his servant before to make provision for them, was met and saluted with the news, that Dr. Frewen, President of Magdalen College, was made Bishop of Lichfield; and that the College had pitched upon him as successor. This unlooked-for accident (as justly it might) put Dr. Oliver to new counsels; and since Providence had found out so seasonable a relief, inclined him not to desert it, but fly rather to his preferments and advantage, than merely to his refuge, and so to divert to Oxford. To this Dr. Hammond made much difficulty to assent, thinking that too public a place, and, what he more considered, too far from his living; whither (his desires strongly inclining him) he had hopes, when the present fury was allayed, to return again; and to that purpose had wrote to such friends of his as were in power, to use their interest for the procuring his security. But his letters meeting a cold reception, and the company of his friend on one

hand, and the appearance of deserting him on the other hand, charming him to it, he was at last persuaded; and encompassing Hampshire, with some difficulty came to Oxford; where procuring an apartment in his old College, he sought that peace in his retirement and study, which was no where else to be met withal; taking no other diversion, than what the giving encouragement and instruction to ingenuous young students yielded him (a thing wherein he peculiarly delighted), and the satisfaction which he received from the conversation of learned men; who besides the usual store, in great number at that time, for their security, resorted thither.

Among the many eminent persons with whom he here conversed, he had particular intimacy with Dr. Potter, Provost of Queen's College; to whom, among other fruits of his studies, he communicated his Practical Catechism, which for his private use he had drawn up. The Provost, much taken with the design, and no less with the performance, importuned him to make it public; alleging, in that lawless age the great use of supplanting the empty form of godliness, which so prevailed, by substituting of its real power and sober duties; of silencing profaneness, which then usurped the names of wit and gallantry, by enforcing the more eligible acts of the Christian's reasonable service, which was not any other way so happily to be done, as by beginning at the foundation by sound, and yet not trivial, catechetical institution.

It was not hard to convince Dr. Hammond, that it were well if some such thing were done; but that his writing would do this in any measure, or that he should suffer his name to become public, it was impossible to persuade him. The utmost he could be brought to allow of was, that his Treatise was not likely to do harm, but had possibilities of doing (it might be) some good; and that it would not become him to deny that service to the world; especially if his modesty might be secured from pressure, by the concealing of him to be the author: and this Dr. Potter, that he might leave no subterfuge, undertook, and withal the whole care of, and besides the whole charge of the edition. Upon

these terms, only with this difference, that Dr. Hammond would not suffer the Provost to be at the entire charge, but went an equal share with him, the Practical Catechism saw the light, and likewise the author remained in his desired obscurity.

But in the mean time the book finding the reception which it merited, the good Doctor was by the same arguments constrained to give way to the publishing of several other tracts, which he had written, upon heads which were then most perverted by popular error; as of Conscience, of Scandal, of Will-Worship, of Resisting the lawful Magistrate, and of the Change of Church-Government; his name all this while concealed, and so preserved, till curiosity improving its guesses into confident asseverations, he was rumoured for the author, and as such published to the world by the London and Cambridge stationers, who without his knowledge reprinted those and other of his works.

In the interim a treaty being laboured by his Majesty, to compose, if it were possible, the unhappy differences in church and state; and in order thereunto the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Southampton being sent to London; Dr. Hammond went along as chaplain to them; where with great zeal and prudence he laboured to undeceive those seduced persons whom he had opportunity to converse with: and when the treaty was solemnly appointed at Uxbridge, several divines being sent thither in behalf of the different parties, he, among other excellent men that adhered to the King, was made choice of to assist in that employment. And there (not to mention the debates between the commissioners, which were long since published by an honourable hand) Dr. Steward and Mr. Henderson were at first only admitted to dispute; though at the second meeting the other divines were called in: which thing was a surprise, and designed for such, to those of the King's part, who came as chaplains and private attendants on the Lords; but was before projected and prepared for by those of the Presbyterian way. And in this conflict it was the lot of Dr. Hammond to have Mr. Vines for his antagonist; who, instead of tendering a scholastic disputation, read from

a paper a long divinity-lecture, wherein were interwoven several little cavils and exceptions, which were meant for arguments. Dr. Hammond perceiving this, drew forth his pen and ink, and, as the other was reading, took notes of what was said, and then immediately returned in order an answer to the several suggestions, which were about forty in number: which he did with that readiness and sufficiency, as at once gave testimony to his ability, and to the evidence of the truth he asserted: which, amidst the disadvantage of extempore against premeditation, dispelled with ease and perfect clearness all the sophisms that had been brought against him.

It is not the present work to give an account of that whole dispute, or character the merits of those worthy persons who were engaged in it, either in that or the succeeding meetings; especially since it was resolved by both parties, that the transactions of neither side should be made public. But notwithstanding this, since divers persons addicted to the defence of a side, without any further consideration of truth or common honesty, have in this particular wounded the Doctor's reputation, I shall take leave to say, that had the victories in the field, which were managed by the sword, been like this of the chamber and the tongue, a very easy act of oblivion must have atoned for them; since what never was, without much industry might be secured from being remembered. The impudent falsity raised upon the Doctor was this: that Master Vines utterly silenced him; insomuch that he was fain to use this unheard-of stratagem to avoid his adversary's demonstration; to swear by God and the holy angels, that though at present a solution did not occur to him, he could answer it. Concerning this we have the Doctor's own account in a letter of his, bearing date Jan. 22, anno 1655, directed to a friend, who had advertised him of this report.

‘ I have formerly been told, within these few years, that there went about a story much to my disparagement, concerning the dispute at Uxbridge (for there it was, not at Holdenby) with Mr. Vines: but what it was I could never hear before. Now I do, I can, I

think, truly affirm, that no one part of it hath any degree of truth, save only that Mr. Vines did dispute against, and I defend, Episcopacy. For as to the argument mentioned, I did neither then, nor at any time of my life (that I can remember), ever hear it urged by any. And for my pretended answer, I am both sure that I never called God and his holy angels to witness any thing in my life, nor ever swore one voluntary oath, that I know of (and sure there was then none imposed on me), and that I was not at that meeting conscious to myself of wanting ability to express my thoughts, or pressed with any considerable difficulty, or forced by any consideration to wave the answer of any thing objected. A story of that whole affair I am yet able to tell you; but I cannot think it necessary: only this I may add, that after it I went to Mr. Marshall, in my own and brethren's names, to demand three things; 1. Whether any argument proposed by them remained unanswered, to which we might yield farther answer. 2. Whether they intended to make any report of the past disputation; offering, if they would, to join with them in it, and to perfect a conference by mutual consent, after the manner of that between Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Hart: both which being rejected, the third was, to promise each other that nothing should be afterward published by either without the consent or knowledge of the other party: and that last he promised for himself and his brethren, and so we parted.'

But while these things were in doing, a Canonry in Christ-Church in Oxford became vacant, which the King immediately bestowed on Dr. Hammond, though then absent; whom likewise the University chose their Public Orator: which preferments, though collated so freely, and in a time of exigence, he was with much difficulty wrought upon by his friends to accept, as minding nothing so much as a return to his old charge at Penshurst. But the impossibility of a sudden opportunity of going thither being evident unto him, he at last accepted; and was soon after made chaplain in ordinary to his majesty.

But these new employments no way diverted him

from his former tasks ; for, according to his wonted method, he continued to address remedies to the increasing mischiefs of the times, and published the tracts of ‘ Superstition, Idolatry, Sins of Weakness and Wilfulness, Death-bed Repentance, View of the Directory ;’ as also, in answer to a Romanist, who, taking advantage of the public ruin, hoped to erect thereon trophies to the Capitol, his ‘ Vindication of the Lord Falkland,’ who was not long before fallen in another kind of war.

But now the King’s affairs declining every where, and Oxford being forced upon articles to surrender to the enemy, where, after the expiration of six months, all things were to be left to the lust and fury of a servile, and therefore insolent, conqueror ; though he foresaw a second and more fatal siege approaching, a leaguer of encamped inevitable mischiefs ; yet he remitted nothing of his wonted industry, writing his tracts of ‘ Fraternal Correction,’ and ‘ Power of the Keys,’ and ‘ Apologies by Letter’ against the pulpit-calumnies of Mr. Cheynel, and the exceptions taken at his ‘ Practical Catechism.’

In the mean time his sacred Majesty, sold by his Scottish into the hands of his English subjects, and brought a prisoner to Holdenby, where, stripped of all his royal attendants, and denied that common charity, which is afforded the worst of malefactors, the assistance of divines, though he with importunity desired it ; he being taken from the Parliament Commissioners into the possession of the army, at last obtained that kindness from them (who were to be cruel at another rate), which was withheld by the two Houses, and was permitted the service of some few of his Chaplains, whom he by name had sent for, and among them of Dr. Hammond.

Accordingly the good Doctor attended on his master in the several removes of Woburn, Cavesam, and Hampton Court ; as also thence into the Isle of Wight, where he continued till Christmas, 1647 ; at which time his Majesty’s attendants were again put from him, and he amongst the rest.

Sequestered from this his melancholic, but most de-

sired, employment, he returned again to Oxford; where being chosen Sub-Dean, an office to which belongs much of the scholastic government of the College, and soon after proved to be the whole, the Dean, for the guilt of asserting the rights of his Majesty and University in his station of Vice-Chancellor, being made a prisoner, he undertook the entire management of all affairs, and discharged it with great sufficiency and admirable diligence, leaving his beloved studies to interest himself not only in moderating at divinity-disputations, which was then an immediate part of his task, but in presiding at the more youthful exercises of sophistry, themes, and declamations; redeeming still at night these vacuities of the day, scarce ever going to bed till after midnight, sometimes not till three in the morning, and yet certainly rising to prayers at five.

Nor did his inspection content itself in looking to the general performances of duty, but descended to an accurate survey of every one's both practice and ability; so that this large society of scholars appeared his private family, he scarce leaving any single person without some mark or other of both his charity and care; relieving the necessitous in their several wants of money and of books, shaming the vicious to sobriety, encouraging the ingenuous to diligence, and finding stratagems to ensnare the idle to a love of study. But above all he endeavoured to prepare his charge for the reception of the impending persecution; that they might adorn their profession, and not at the same time suffer for a cause of righteousness, and as evil-doers.

To this end he both admitted and solemnly invited all sober persons to his familiarity and converse; and, beside that, received them to his weekly private office of fasting and humiliation.

But now the long-expected ruin breaking in with its full weight and torrent, the visitors, chafed with their former disappointments and delays, coming with hunters' stomachs, and design to boot, for to seize first, and then devour the prey, by a new method of judicature, being to kill, and then take possession; the

excellent Doctor became involved in the general calamity. And whereas the then usual law of expulsion was immediately to banish into the wide world by beat of drum, enjoining to quit the town within twenty-four hours, upon pain of being taken and used as spies, and not to allow the unhappy exiles time for the dispose either of their private affairs, or stating the accounts of their respective colleges or pupils; the Reverend Dr. Sheldon, now Lord Bishop of London, and Dean of his Majesty's Chapel Royal, and Dr. Hammond, were submitted to a contrary fate, and by an order from a committee of Parliament were restrained and voted to be prisoners in that place, from which all else were so severely driven. But such was the authority and command of exemplary virtue, that the person designed to succeed in the Canonry of Christ-Church, though he had accepted of the place at London, and done his exercise for it at Oxford, acting as public orator in flattering there the then-pretending Chancellor, yet had not courage to pursue his undertaking, but voluntarily relinquished that infamous robbery, and adhered to a less scandalous one in the country. And then the officer, who was commanded to take Dr. Sheldon and him into custody, upon their designed removal, Colonel Evelin, then Governor of Wallingford Castle (though a man of as opposite principles to church and churchmen as any of the adverse party), wholly declined the employment; solemnly protesting, that if they came to him, they should be entertained as friends, and not as prisoners.

But these remorsees proved but of little effect; the Prebend of Christ-Church being suddenly supplied by a second choice, and Oxford itself being continued the place of their confinement: where accordingly the good Doctor remained, though he were demanded by his Majesty to attend him in the Isle of Wight, at the treaty there, which then was again reinforced. The pretence, upon which both he and the Reverend Dr. Sheldon were refused, was, that they were prisoners; and probably the gaining that was the cause why they were so. But notwithstanding the denial of a personal attendance, the excellent Prince required that

assistance, which might consist with absence ; and at this time sent for a copy of that sermon, which almost a year before he had heard preached in that place: the which sermon his Majesty, and thereby the public, received with the accession of several others delivered upon various occasions.

Dr. Hammond having continued about ten weeks in his restraint in Oxford, where he begun to actuate his design of writing Annotations on the New Testament (nor was it disproportionate, that those sacred volumes, a great part of which were wrote in bonds, should be first commented upon by the very parallel suffering, and that the work itself should be so dedicated, and the expositor fitted for his task by being made like the authors), by the interposition of his brother-in-law, Sir John Temple, he had licence granted to be removed to a more acceptable confinement, to Clapham in Bedfordshire, the house in which his worthy friend Sir Philip Warwick lived : where soon after his arrival, that horrid mockery of justice, the rape and violence of all that is sacred, made more abominable by pretending to right and piety, the trial of the king, drew on ; and he being in no other capacity to interpose than by writing, drew up an address to the general and council of officers, and transmitted it to them. And when that unexampled villany found this excuse, that it was such as could be pleaded for, and men in cool blood would dare to own and justify, he affixed his reply to the suggestions of Ascham and Goodwin. And now although he indulged to his just and almost infinite griefs, which were transported to the utmost bounds of sober passion, the affectionate personal respect he bore unto that glorious victim being added to the detestation due unto the guilt itself, of which no man was more sensible than he who had strange antipathies to all sin, he gave not up himself to an unactive, dull, amazement ; but with the redoubled use of fasting, tears, and solemn prayer, he resumed his wonted studies ; and besides his fitting the Annotations for the press, and his little tract of the Reasonableness of Christian Religion, he now composed his Latin one against Blondel in the behalf of Episcopacy. As to

the first of which (his Annotations), the manner of its birth and growth was thus.

Having written in Latin two large volumes in quarto, of the way of interpreting the New Testament, with reference to the customs of the Jews, and of the first heretics in the Christian church, and of the Heathens, especially in the Grecian games, and above all the importance of the Hellenistical dialect, into which he had made the exactest search (by which means, in a manner, he happened to take in all the difficulties of that sacred book); he began to consider that it might be more useful to the English reader, who was to be his immediate care, to write in our vulgar language, and set every observation in its natural order, according to the guidance of the text. And having some years before collated several Greek copies of the New Testament, observed the variation of our English from the original, and made an entire translation of the whole for his private use; being thus prepared, he cast his work into that form in which it now appears. The reasons of it need not to be here inserted, being set down by his own pen in his preface to his Annotations.

The Tractate against Blondel grew to its last form and constitution by not unlike degrees, having a very different occasion from the last performance. The immediate antecedent cause is owned, and long ago presented to the world in that writing; the more remote original is as follows. The late most learned primate of Armagh having received from Dav. Blondel a letter of exception against his edition of Ignatius, he communicated it to Dr. Hammond, desiring his sense of several passages therein contained, relating to the Valentinian heresy, episcopal and chorepiscopal power, and some emergent difficulties concerning them, from the canons of several ancient Eastern Councils. To all this the doctor wrote a peculiar answer, promising a fuller account if it would be useful. Upon the receipt whereof the Archbishop being highly satisfied, returned his thanks, and laid hold of the promise; which being accordingly discharged, became the provision (and gave materials) to a great part of the Dissertations. The Primate's letter ran in these words:

‘I have read with great delight and content your accurate answer to the objections made against the credit of Ignatius’s Epistles; for which I do most heartily thank you, and am moved thereby farther to entreat you to publish to the world in Latin what you have already written in English against this objector, and that other, who for your pains hath rudely requited you with the base appellation of *Nebulo*, for the assertion of Episcopacy: to the end it may no longer be credited abroad, that these two have beaten down this calling, that the defence thereof is now deserted by all men, as by Lud. Capellus is intimated in his Thesis of Church-government, at Sedan lately published; which I leave unto your serious consideration, and all your godly labours to the blessing of our good God, in whom I evermore rest,

Your very loving Friend and Brother

JA. ARMACHANUS.’

‘Ryegate in Surry, Jul. 21, 1649.’

Now in this request the Archbishop was so concerned, that he reinforced it by another letter of August 30, and congratulated the performance by a third of Jan. 14; both which, though very worthy to see the public light, are yet forborne, as several of the like kind from the reverend fathers the Bishops of this and our sister churches, as also from the most eminent for piety and learning of our own and the neighbouring nations: which course is taken not only in accordance to the desires and sentiments of the excellent Doctor, who hated every thing that looked like ostentation; but likewise to avoid the very displeasing choice, either to take the trouble of recounting all the Doctor’s correspondences, or bear the envy of omitting some.

But to return to the present task, and that of the good Doctor, which now was to perfect his ‘Commentaries on the New Testament,’ and finish the ‘Dissertations:’ amidst which cares he met with another of a more importunate nature, the loss of his dear mother; which had this unhappy accession, that in her sickness he could not be permitted, by reason of his being concerned in the proclamation that banished those that adhered to the King twenty miles from London, to visit

her; nor while she paid her latest debt to nature, to pay his earlier one of filial homage and attendance.

A few months after, the rigour of that restraint with the declining of the year (a season judged less commodious for enterprise) being taken off, he removed into Worcestershire, to Westwood, the house of the eminently-loyal Sir John Pakington; where being settled, and proceeding in the edition of those his labours which he had begun at Clapham, his Majesty coming to Worcester, by his neighbourhood to that place, the good Doctor, as he had the satisfaction personally to attend his sovereign, and the honour to receive a letter from his own hand of great importance, for the satisfaction of his loyal subjects concerning his adherence to the established religion of the church of England, wherein his royal father lived a saint, and died a martyr: so likewise had he on the other part the most immediate agonies for his defeat; to which was added the calamity which fell upon the family where he dwelt, from the persecution and danger of the generous master of it. But it pleased God to give an issue out of both those difficulties, especially in the miraculous deliverance of his sacred Majesty; a dispensation of so signal an importance, that he allowed it a solemn recognition in his constant offices during his whole life; receiving that unusual interposition of Providence as a pledge from Heaven of an *arriere* of mercies, to use his own words, 'That God, who had thus powerfully rescued him from Egypt, would not suffer him to perish in the wilderness; but though his passage be through the Red Sea, he would at last bring him into Canaan; that he should come out of his tribulations as gold out of the fire, purified, but not consumed.'

But notwithstanding these reflections, bottomed upon piety and reliance upon Heaven, the present state of things had a quite different prospect in common eyes; and the generality of men thinking their religion as troublesome a burthen as their loyalty, with the same prudence by which they changed their mild and gracious sovereign for a bloody tyrant, began to seek a pompous and imperious church abroad, instead of a pious and afflicted one at home. To which event

the Roman missionaries gave their liberal contribution, affording their preposterous charity to make them proselytes, who had no mind to be confessors or martyrs. Hereupon the Doctor thought it highly seasonable to write his tract of 'Schism,' and oppose it to that most popular topic, whereby they amused and charmed their fond disciples. And whereas the love of novelty prevailed in several other instances, as in controlling the use and authority of the Scripture, defending incestuous marriages, polygamy, divorce, the anabaptizing of infants, the schismatical ordination of ministers by mere presbyters, and disuse of the festivals of the church; he applied his antidotes to each; by which means he made himself the common mark of opposition to all parties: for (besides the assaults from a whole classis of antagonists, which the 'Dissertations' had engaged against him, and to which he was preparing his defence), upon the Romanists' part he was charged by the Catholic gentleman and his armour-bearer S. W.; on the Presbyterian account by Mr. Cawdry and Mr. Jeanes; and in the behalf of the Independents and Anabaptists, by Mr. Owen and Mr. Tombs; not to mention several others, that sought themselves a name by being his gainsayers, but failed of their purpose, by bringing only spite and passion into the quarrel, and so were to be answered only by pity and silence.

Nor did he only stand and keep at bay this multiplied contest; but (as if this had not been task enough), besides the intercurrent offices of life, his reception of visits, answering of letters, his constant preaching and catechising, he found leisure to write his tract of 'Fundamentals,' his 'Parænesis,' his 'Review of the Annotations;' and amidst all, to be in debt to his importunate antagonists for nothing but their railing, leaving that the only thing unanswered: nay, more than so, brought several of them even under their own hands to recognise their sense of their undue procedure used by them unto him; which their acknowledgments yet remain, and are producible upon occasion.

And would to God he had met no other opposition; or in the entrance on these conflicts, that strength of

body, which before had faithfully attended his indefatigable mind, began to fail him; and those four torments of disease, which single have been judged a competent trial of human sufferance, the stone, the gout, the cholic, and the cramp (the last of which was to him as tyrannous as any of the former), became in a manner the constant exercise of his Christian fortitude and patience; affording him from this time to the end of his life very rare and short intervals of vigorous health.

But among all his labours, although polemic discourses were otherwise most uneasy, as engaging to converse with men in passion, a thing he naturally abhorred, his 'Parænesis,' a persuasive and practical tract (which now he wrote, and which upon that account was exceeding agreeable to his desires), cost him most throes and pangs of birth, as having been penned first in tears, and then in ink: for however with great serenity he entertained all other accidents, having habituated himself to his beloved doctrine of 'submitting not to the will of God alone, but to his wisdom; both which,' he was used to say, 'were perfectly one thing in that blessed agent' (and accordingly in the most dismal appearance of event made this constant motto, *גם זו לטובה*, 'Even this for good'); yet in this instance the tenderness of his soul seemed to have melted his resolution; the occasion of that treatise being the interdict of Jan. 1655, which disabled the loyal suffering clergy from doing any ministerial act; which he resented with the highest passion, not only upon the general account of God's more immediate displeasure to the nation legible therein, but (what he had much less reason to do) in reference to his own particular, he looking on this dispensation of Providence as God's pronouncing him unworthy to do him service, 'the reproaching' (to use his own words) 'his former unprofitableness, by casting him out as straw to the dunghill.' Nor should any consideration that terminated on himself have persuaded him at all to regard that tyrannous injunction, had not charity to the family where he was made him content to admit of an expedient that secured all real duties, whilst he for

some short time forbore that attendance on the altar, which was the very joy of his life.

And now, though his physicians had earnestly forbidden his accustomed fastings, and his own weaknesses gave forcible suffrages to their advice; yet he resumed his rigours, esteeming this calamity such a one as admitted no exception, which should not be outlived; but that it became men to be martyrs too, and deprecate even in death.

While he thus earnestly implored the aids of Heaven, and exhorted unto present duty, he omitted not a third expedient, the securing a succession to the church, thereby to preserve its future being: and this he did not only in reference to the superior order of episcopacy, which it has pleased God now to secure by another more gracious method of his favour, and even miraculous goodness; but also in the inferior attendance on the altar: the latter of which, as it was an enterprise suiting well with his heroic mind, so was it no way answering his narrow fortunes. The thing in his design was this: Whereas the ancient stock of clergymen were by this edict in a manner rendered useless, and the church was at best like the Roman state in its first beginning, '*Res unius ætatis populus virorum*,' a nation of ancient persons hasting to their graves, who must in a few years be wasted; he projected, by pensions unto hopeful persons in either university, to maintain a seminary of youth, instituted in piety and learning, upon the sober principles and old establishment of the Anglican church. In which work though the assistances he presumed on failed in a great measure, yet somewhat not inconsiderable in this kind by himself and friends he did achieve, and kept on foot until his death. In his instructions to them whom he employed in this affair, he gave in charge 'carefully to seek out such as were piously inclined, and to prefer that qualification before unsanctified good parts;' adding this as a certain maxim, 'that exemplary virtue must restore the church.'

And whereas that black defeat at Worcester, raising the insolent tyrant here unto that greatness which almost outwent the impudence of his hopes, made him

to be feared by foreign nations almost as much as hated by his own, the loyal sufferers abroad became subjected to the worst effect of banishment, and even there expelled and driven from their flights; so paralleling in their exigencies the most immediate objects of that monster's fury. The excellent Doctor, to whose diffusive virtue the limits of the nation were too strait a circle, thought this a season to exert his charity; accordingly, though this greatest duty were solemnly declared treason, he then continued to send over several sums for their relief.

Which practice of his, by the surprise of the person intrusted, being discovered to the tyrant, he was alarmed with the expectation of that usage, which was then a certain consequent of such meritorious acts. But this adventure brought nothing of amazement or disturbance to the Doctor, his most importunate reflection being only this; that he seemed to have gained an opportunity of saying something very home to that fierce monster concerning his foul deeds, and to discourse the appropriate ways remaining to alleviate at least, if not to expiate for them; which he purposed within himself to press to the highest advantage: and indeed this was the only issue of that so threatening accident, God's restraining power interposing here, and exemplifying upon him what in others he was wont to observe, 'that they who least considered hazard in the doing of their duties, fared still best.'

And this success, as it was indeed, and accordingly he frequently acknowledged it for, an eminent act of the Divine Providence; so we may likewise take it as a signal testimony of the commanding worth the Doctor had, which extorted a reverence to his person from that worst of men, and rendered him a sanctuary, perhaps the only one this architect of mischief stood in awe of, and even his sacrilege preserved inviolate.

Nor did this danger being over, as with others in all likelihood it would have done, persuade to caution for the future; but with the wonted diligence that formerly he used, he immediately proceeded, and cheerfully went on in the pursuit of his heroic charity.

Amidst these diversions grew up the labours of this

hero, the issues of his brain being not only midwived into the world, like natural births, with torment and disease, but wrote, like Cæsar's Commentaries, in dangers and in war. And now, besides the replies which the importunities of Mr. Owen, Mr. Jeanes, and Mr. Tombs drew from him, W. S. continuing his loud clamours and impudent triumph at his own folly, the good Doctor suffered himself to be engaged on that long answer, which proved the last of that kind he made, excepting that single sheet put out a few months before his death, as a specimen to what desperate shifts the patrons of the Roman cause were driven: for though some of his friends advised him to remit that divinity buffoon to be answered in his own way by a slighter pen; he by no means would admit of the proposal, resolving 'it unfit that another should do in his behalf what was indecent for himself to do; and though there was no respect to be had of W. S. yet was the sacred cause to be managed with reverence and awful regard.' While this was in hand, the second 'Review of the Annotations' came to light, as also the 'Exposition on the Book of Psalms,' and soon after the pacific discourse of 'God's Grace and Decrees,' ventilated between him and his dear friend, the reverend and most learned Dr. Sanderson, now Lord Bishop of Lincoln, occasioned by some letters, which had passed on that subject between the said Doctor and the Reverend Dr. Pierce. To this immediately succeeded the Latin tract of 'Confirmation,' in answer to the exceptions of Mr. Daillé, which was then prepared for the press, though detained much longer upon prudential, or rather charitative considerations, a respect to which was strictly had in all the Doctor's writings; it being his care not only to publish sober and convincing, but withal seasonable useful truths.

He was likewise enterprising a farther 'Commentary on the Old Testament,' and begun on the Book of Proverbs, and finished a third part of it: but the completion of this and all other the great intendments of the equally learned, pious, and indefatigable author, received here a full period; it pleasing the Divine Providence to take to himself this high example of all

moral and Christian excellences, in a season when the church and nation would least have been deprived of his aids towards the cementing of those breaches, which then began to offer at a closure.

It is easily to be presumed, the reader will not be disobliged, if we a while divert from this remaining sadder part of the undertaken narrative, and entertain him with a survey of the personal accomplishments of the excellent Doctor; the particulars whereof would not readily have fallen into the thread of history, or at least had been disjointed there, and under disadvantage; but will be made to stand in a much fairer light, when represented to the view by way of character and picture.

And therefore to this prospect we cheerfully invite all eyes, in whose esteem virtue itself is lovely.

The frame of his body was such as suited with the noble use to which it was designed, the entertaining a most pure and active soul, built equally to the advantages of strength and comeliness. His stature was of just height and all proportionate dimensions, avoiding the extremes of gross and meagre, advantaged by a graceful carriage, at once most grave, and yet as much obliging. His face carried dignity and attractives in it, scarce ever clouded with a frown, or so much as darkened by reservedness. His eye was quick and sprightly, his complexion clear and florid, so that (especially in his youth) he had the esteem of a very beauteous person; which was lessened only by the colour of his hair: though if the sentence of other ages and climates be of value, that reasonably might be vouched as an accession to it.

To this outward structure was joined that strength of constitution, patient of severest toil and hardship; insomuch that for the most part of his life, in the fiercest extremity of cold, he took no other advantage of a fire, than at the greatest distance that he could to look upon it. As to diseases (till immoderate study had wrought a change), he was in a manner only liable to fevers, which too a constant temperance did in a great measure prevent, and still assisted to relieve and cure.

Next to his frame of body, if we survey his inward faculties, we shall find them just unto the promises of his outward shape. His sight was quick to an unusual degree; insomuch that if by chance he saw a knot of men, a flock of sheep, or herd of cattle, being engaged in discourse, and not at all thinking of it, he would involuntarily cast up their number, which others after long delays could hardly reckon. His ear was accurate, and tuned to his harmonious soul; so that, having never learned to sing by book or study, he would exactly perform his part of many things to a harpsicon or theorbo; and frequently did so in his more vigorous years, after the toil and labour of the day, and before the remaining studies of the night. His elocution was free and graceful, prepared at once to charm and to command his audience: and when with preaching at his country charge he had in some degree lost the due manage of his voice, his late sacred Majesty, by taking notice of the change, became his master of music, and reduced him to his ancient decent modulation; a kindness which the Doctor very gratefully acknowledged to his dying day, and reported not only as an instance of the meek and tender condescensions of that gracious Prince, but improved to persuade others by so great an example to that most friendly office of telling persons of their faults, without which very commonly (as here it happened) men must be so far from amending their errors, that it is morally impossible they should ever know them.

As to his more inferior faculties, we must allow the first place to his invention, his richest, altogether unexhausted treasure, whose flowings were with that full torrent, that for several years, after his choice of subject, which generally he had in prospect beforehand, a little meditation on the Saturday night made up his sermon: but in the last twelve of his life, finding the recollection of his thoughts disturb his sleep, he remitted the particular care of the composition and method of his future discourse to the Sunday morning, wherein an hour's consideration fitted him to the office of the day. With the like swiftness he dispatched his writings, usually composing faster than his ama-

nuensis, though a very dexterous person, could transcribe after him. His 'Considerations of Present Necessity concerning Episcopacy' were drawn up after ten o'clock at night in a friend's chamber, who professes, that sitting by all the while, he remembers not that he took off pen from paper till he had done; and the very next morning, it being fully approved by the Bishop of Salisbury, he sent it to the press; to which work he could have no premeditation or second thoughts, he being that very night after supper employed by the before-mentioned Lord Bishop of Salisbury, now of Winchester, on that task. So likewise he began his tract of 'Scandal' at eleven at night, and finished it before he went to bed. Nor was this a peculiar or extraordinary thing with him, but most customary; five sheets having amidst his other diversions been sundry times his one day's work; adding to it so much of the night as he frequently borrowed from sleep and supper: and indeed such were his diversions, so many and so importunate, that, notwithstanding this incredible ease of writing, it is hardly imaginable how he could compass the tithe of what he did: for he that shall consider his laborious way, immersed in almost infinite quotations, to which the turning over books, and consulting several editions was absolutely needful; his obligation to read not only classic authors, but the more recent abortions of the press, wherein he proved frequently concerned; his perusal of the writings of his friends and strangers intended to be public; his review of his own works, and correcting them with his own hand, sheet by sheet, as they came forth, which he did to all his later tracts; his reception of visits, whether of civility, or for resolution of conscience, or information in points of difficulty, which were numerous, and great devourers of his time; his agency for men of quality, providing them schoolmasters for their children, and chaplains in their houses, in which affair he had set up a kind of office of address; his general correspondences by letter, whereof some cost him ten, others twenty, thirty, forty, nay sixty, sheets of paper, and ever took up two days of the week entirely to themselves; the time ex-

hausted by his sicknesses, which in the later years of his life gave him but short and seldom truce, and always made it necessary for him not to stir from his chair, or so much as read a letter, for two hours after every meal, failance wherein being certainly revenged by a fit of the gout; his not only constant preaching and instructing the family where he was, and his visiting the sick both there and in the neighbourhood; but amidst all, his sure returns of prayer, so frequent and so constant as certainly to challenge to themselves a great portion of the day: he, I say, that shall compute and sum up this, the particulars whereof are nakedly set down without any straining of the truth, or flourish of expression, must be to seek what point of vacant time remained yet undisposed; I do not say to write books, but even to breathe and rest a little in.

After a serious reflection on the premises, and full debate thereon, the account given by that excellent person who had the happiness of being the nearest and most constant witness of the before-recited severals, seems the best and chiefly satisfactory that possibly can be made; that he gained time for his writing books by the time he spent in prayer, whilst (a more than ordinary assistance attending his devotions) his closet proved his library, and he studied most upon his knees.

As to his memory, it was serviceable, but not officious; faithful to things and business, but unwillingly retaining the contexture and punctualities of words; which defect he frequently lamented, it being harder with him to get one sermon by heart than to pen twenty.

His way of speech and faculty of communicating notions was sufficiently happy, having only this best kind of defect, exuberance and surplusage of plenty, the tide and torrent of his matter being not easily confined by periods; whereby his style, though round and comprehensive, was encumbered sometimes by parentheses, and became difficult to vulgar understandings: but by the use of writing, and his desire to accommodate himself to all capacities, he in his later years had mastered that defect, which was so slight, that not-

withstanding it he deserved from (the most accurate judge and greatest master of English rhetoric, which this age hath given) his late sacred Majesty this character and testimony, 'That he was the most natural orator he ever heard.'

His judgment, as in itself the highest faculty, so was it the most eminent among his natural endowments: for though the finding out the similitudes of different things, wherein the fancy is conversant, is usually a bar to the discerning the disparities of similar appearances, which is the business of discretion, and that store of notions which is laid up in memory assists rather confusion than choice, upon which grounds the greatest clerks are frequently not the wisest men; he had, to his sufficient memory and incomparable invention, a clear discerning judgment; and that not only in scholastical affairs and points of learning, which the arguings, and besides them the designment of his writings, manifest beyond dispute; but in the concerns of public nature, both of church and state, wherein his guess was usually as near to prophecy as any man's; as also in the little mysteries of private manage, by which upon occasion he has unravelled the studied cheats of great artificers in that liberal science, wherein particularly he vindicated a person of honour, for whom he was intrusted, and assisted frequently his friends in their domestic intercurrent difficulties.

As to acquired habits, and abilities in learning, his writings having given the world sufficient account of them, there remains only to observe, that the range and compass of his knowledge filled the whole circle of the arts, and reached those severals, which single do exact an entire man unto themselves, and full age. To be accurate in the grammar and idioms of the tongues, and then as a rhetorician to make all their graces serve his eloquence; to have traversed ancient, and yet be no stranger in modern writers; to be studied in philosophy, and familiarly versed in all the politer classic authors; to be learned in school-divinity, and a master in church-antiquity, perfect and ready in the sense of fathers, councils, ecclesiastical histo-

rians and liturgicks; to have devoured so much, and yet digested it, is a rarity in nature and in diligence, which has but few examples.

But after all we must take leave to say, and do it upon sober recollection, that the Doctor's learning was the least thing in him? the scholar was here less eminent than the Christian: his speculative knowledge, that gave light to the most dark and difficult proposals, became eclipsed by the more dazzling lustre of his practick. In the catalogue of his virtues, his chastity and temperance may claim the earliest place, as being the sacrists to the rest; and in him were therefore only not the greatest of his excellencies, because every thing else was so.

And first, his chaste thoughts, words, and carriage so disciplined his lower faculties, as not only restrained through all the heats of youth, made more than usually importunate by the full vigour of a high and sanguine constitution (which his escape he gratefully referred unto the only mercy of Almighty God), but gave a detestation of all those verbal follies, that have not only the allowance of being harmless mirth, but the repute of wit and gaiety of humour; so that the scurrilous jest could sooner obtain his tears in penance for it, than the approbation of a smile; and all approaches to this sin he looked upon not only with an utter disallowance in his will, but a kind of natural abhorrence and antipathy in his lower outward faculties.

In his first remove to Penshurst, he was persuaded by his friends that the matrimonial state was needful to the bearing off those household cares and other intercurrent troubles, which his condition then brought with it; and on this ground he gave some ear to their advices; which he then did more readily, for that there was a person represented to him, of whose virtue, as well as other more usually-desired accomplishments, he had been long before well satisfied. But being hindered several times by little unexpected accidents, he finally laid down all his pretensions, upon a ground of perfect self-denial; being informed, that one of a fairer fortune and higher quality than his was, or else was like to be, and consequently one who in

common account would prove the better match, had kindness for her.' Having thus resolved, the charity of his mother, who undertook the manage of his family, became a seasonable assistant and expedient in this single state ; till after several years her age making those cares too great a burthen for her shoulders, he again was induced to resume his thoughts of marriage : but the national disturbances (that afterward brake cut in war and ruin) appearing then in ferment, he was again diverted by recollecting the apostle's advice, 1 Cor. vii. 26, enforced upon his thoughts by the reading of St. Jerome's epistle to Agereuchia ; where, after glorious eulogies of marriage, the father concluded in an earnest dehortation from it, upon a representation of a like face of things, the Goths then breaking into Italy, as they before had done into the other near parts of the Roman empire, and filling all with slaughter, cruelty, and ruin : upon which prospect the good Doctor casting a serious eye, and with prophetic sorrows and misgivings fearing a parallel in this our nation, the second time deposited his conjugal intendments, and thenceforth courted and espoused (what he preserved inviolate) unto his death the more eminent perfection of spotless virgin chastity.

His appetite was good, but the restraint of it was very eminent and extraordinary ; for his diet was of the plainest meats, and commonly not only his dishes, but the parts of them, were such as most others would refuse. Sauces he scarce ever tasted of ; but often expressed it his wonder, ' how rational creatures should eat for any thing but health, since he that did eat or drink that which might cause a fit of the stone or gout, though a year after, therein unmanned himself, and acted as a beast.' So that his self-denials were quite contrary to the usual ones ; for considering the time lost in eating, and the vacancy succeeding it, his meals were the greatest pressure, and his fasting-day the most sensual part of his week.

In the time of his full and more vigorous health he seldom did eat or drink more than once in twenty-four hours, and some fruit towards night ; and two days in every week, and in Lent and Ember-week three

days, he eat but once in thirty-six. Nor did he ever with so much regret submit unto any prescript, as when his physicians, after his great fever that he had in Oxford, required him to eat suppers: which severity of injunction he soon shook off, and returned to his beloved abstinence, until renewed infirmities brought him back unto the penance of more indulgence to himself.

As he had the greatest indifference to what he eat, so had he the greatest observation too, especially when it came to be made point of diet and prescription; for in this case he was most exact, never tasting of any prohibited meats, though some of them had before the advantage of being customary towards their seeming necessary: and herein his palate was so tractable and subdued to the dictates of an higher choice, that he really thought no meat pleasant, but in proportion to its wholsomeness: even his beloved apples he would oft say he would totally abandon, as soon as they should appear to be no more than barely innocent, and not of use. And if by chance or inadvertency he had at any time tasted of an interdicted dish, as soon as he perceived it, he discovered a dislike both with himself and what he had been surprised with.

The carving at the table he always made his province, which he said he did as a diversion to keep him from eating overmuch: but certainly that practice had another more immediate cause, a natural distributiveness of humour, and a desire to be employed in the relief of every kind of want of every person. The report, and much more the sight, of a luxurious feeder would turn his stomach; so that he was in more danger to be sick with others' surfeits than his own; charity seeming a part of his complexion, while he performed a natural spontaneous penance for his neighbour's vice, as well as a deliberate one in sorrowing for it.

His temperance in sleep resembled that of his meats, midnight being the usual time of his going to rest, and four or five, and very rarely six, the hour of his rising. There was scarce any thing he resented so much in his infirmities and multiplied diseases, as their having

abridged him of his night-studies, professing thereby he lost 'not only his greatest pleasure, but highest advantage in reference to business.' And in his latter time of weakness, when, to take benefit of a gentle breathing sweat, which usually came in the morning, he had been engaged by his physician to continue in bed till it was over; and upon complaint of costiveness he was on the other side directed to rise somewhat early in the morning: this latter injunction he looked upon as a mere rescue and deliverance, often mentioning it with thanks, as if it had been an eminent favour done him.

His disposal of himself in the other parts of time was to perpetual industry and diligence: he not only avoided, but bore a perfect hate, and seemed to have a forcible antipathy to idleness, and scarcely recommended any thing in his advices with that concern and vigour, as 'to be furnished always with somewhat to do.' This he proposed as the best expedient both for innocence and pleasure; assuring, that 'no burthen is more heavy, or temptation more dangerous, than to have time lie on one's hand: the idle man's brain being not only,' as he worded it, 'the devil's shop, but his kingdom too; a model of, and an appendage unto, hell, a place given up to torment and to mischief.' Besides those portions of time, which the necessities of nature and of civil life extorted from him, there was not a minute of the day which he left vacant. When he walked abroad, which he did not so much to recreate himself, as to obey the prescripts of his physician, he never failed to take a book with him, and read all the while: and in his chamber also he had one lay constantly open, out of which his servant read to him while he was dressing and undressing: by which one piece of husbandry in short space he dispatched several considerable volumes.

His way was still to cast into paper all his observations, and direct them to his present purposes; wherein he had an incredible dexterity, scarce ever reading any thing, which he did not make subservient in one kind or other. He was used to say, 'He could not abide to talk with himself,' and therefore was so diligently pro-

vided of that which he called 'better company.' In his sicknesses, if they were not so violent to make the recollection of thoughts impossible, he never intermitted study, but rather reinforced it then, as the most appropriate revulsive and diversion of pain. The gout by its most frequent and importunate returns exceeded his other maladies; in which, although the first most furious assaults were sure to beat him from his study, and for a time confine him to his bed; yet, as soon as he had recovered his chair, he resumed his pen too, and plied it as hard as though he had ailed nothing.

Next to downright idleness he disliked slow and dilatory undertakings: thinking it a great folly to spend that time in gazing upon business, which should have served for the doing of it. In his own practice he never considered longer than till he could discern whether the thing proposed was fit or not: when that was seen, he immediately set to work. When he had perfected one business, he could not endure to have his thoughts lie fallow, but was presently consulting what next to set about.

But when we reckon up and audit the expenses of the doctor's time, we cannot pass his constant tribute of it paid by him to Heaven in the offices of prayer; which took up so liberal proportions of each day unto itself, for the ten last years of his life, and probably the preceding. Besides occasional and supernumerary addresses, his certain perpetual returns exceeded David's seven times a day. As soon as he was ready (which was usually early), he prayed in his chamber with his servant, in a peculiar form composed for that purpose: after this he retired to his own more secret devotions in his closet. Betwixt ten and eleven in the morning he had a solemn intercession in reference to the national calamities: to this, after a little distance, succeeded the morning office of the church, which he particularly desired to perform in his own person, and would by no means accept the ease of having it read by any other. In the afternoon he had another hour of private prayer, which on Sundays he enlarged, and so religiously observed, that if any necessary business or charity had diverted him

at the usual time, he repaired his soul at the cost of his body; and, notwithstanding the injunctions of his physicians, which in other cases he was careful to obey, spent the supper-time therein. About five o'clock the solemn private prayers for the nation and the evening service of the church returned. At bed-time his private prayers closed the day: and after all even the night was not without its office, the 51st Psalm being his designed midnight entertainment.

In his prayers, as his attention was fixed and steady, so was it inflamed with passionate fervours, insomuch that very frequently his transport threw him prostrate on the earth: his tears also would interrupt his words; the latter happening not only upon the pungent exigencies of present or impending judgments, but in the common service of the church: which, notwithstanding his concealments, being taken notice of by a person of good sufficiency, once a member of his House in Oxford, that became of late years a proselyte to the new extemporary way; he, among his other topics whereby he thought to disparage set forms, used in discourse to urge the heartless coldness of them, and, to adorn his triumph, would make it his solemn wonder, how a person of so good parts as Dr. Hammond was certainly master of, could find motive for his tears in the confession in the beginning of the Liturgy. So much does passion and misguided zeal, transport the most sensible, that this man, otherwise sagacious enough, never considered how ill an instance he had made; which shewed, it was the coldness of the votary, and not the prayer, that was in fault, whenever fervour was deficient at the public office of the church.

The charity and extent of his prayers was as exuberant as the zeal and fervour: he thought it very unreasonable that our intercessions should not be as universal as our Saviour's redemption was; and would complain of that thrift and narrowness of mind, to which we are so prone, confining our care either to ourselves and relatives, or at most to those little angles of the world that most immediately concerned us, and which on due account bear very low proportions to the whole. There was no emergent distress, however re-

mote, but it enlarged his litany ; every year's harvest and new birth of mischiefs, which for several ones past constantly fell on the orthodox and loyal party in the nation, removed itself from the sanguinary edicts of the tyrant, to be transcribed and expiated by his pathetical office of devotion : in which calendar and rubric the 30th of January was sure to have a very solemn place, and a peculiar service prepared for it.

Nor did he only take to heart general national concerns, but even the more private exigencies of the sick and weak had a staple interest in his prayers : among all which none had so liberal a part as they that merited them least, yet wanted them most ; his and (what was usually the same thing) the church's and God's enemies. He never thought he had assured his forgiveness of injuries, unless he returned good for them ; and though other opportunities of this best kind of retaliation might fail him, that of his intercessions never did.

Three persons there were, who above all men by unworthy malice and impotent virulence had highly disoblged him ; but he, in recompense of their guilt, had a peculiar daily prayer purposely in their behalf : and though in the openness of his conversation with his most intimate acquaintance he confessed thus much, yet he never named the persons, though probably that was the only thing which he concealed ; it being his method to withhold nothing, especially of confidence or privacy, from one he owned as friend.

And having mentioned the name of friend, however incidentally, we must not leave it without homage ; friendship being the next sacred thing unto religion in the apprehensions of our excellent Doctor, a virtue of which he was a passionate lover, and with which he ever seemed to have contracted friendship. The union of minds thereby produced he judged the utmost point of human happiness, the very best production that nature has in store, or grows from earth. So that with compassion he reflected on their ignorance who were strangers to it, saying, that ' such must needs lead a pitiful, insipid, herb-John-like life.'

Upon this ground he used with all industrious art to recommend and propagate friendship unto others ; and where he saw several persons that he judged capable of being made acquainted to mutual advantage, he would contrive that league ; and where himself had kindness unto any so allied, he would still enjoin them to be kinder to each other than to him : besides, he still laboured to make all his friends endeared to each of them ; resolving it to be an error bottomed on the common narrowness of soul which represented amity like sensual love, to admit no rivals, confined unto two persons.

When he ever happened to see or be in company with such as had an intimate and hearty kindness for each other, he would be much transported in the contemplation of it ; and where it was seasonable, would openly acknowledge that his satisfaction.

In the list and number of his friends there chanced to be three persons, who, having in their youth contracted a strict intimacy, had undertaken the same profession, and accordingly had the same common studies and designments, and with these the opportunity through the late troubles to live in view of each other ; whom, for that reason, he was used with an obliging envy to pronounce ‘ the most happy men the nation had.’

Accordingly he professed, that for his particular ‘ he had no such way of enjoying any thing, as by reflection from the person whom he loved : so that his friend’s being happy was the readiest way to make him so.’ Therefore, when one eminently near to him in that relation was careless of health, his most pressing argument was his complaint of unkindness to him. And this way of measuring felicities was so natural to him, that it would occur even in the most trivial instances : when there has been any thing at the table peculiarly wholesome in relation to his infirmities, if his friend, who was in a like weak condition, forbore to eat of it in civility to him, he would in vehemence of grief resent it as his singular unhappiness, after so many professions, not to be believed, ‘ that he had a thousand times rather that his friend should have that which

was conducive to health, than to have it himself; and then assumed, 'that if this were believed, it were impossible that any one should attempt to express kindness by robbing him of his greatest pleasure.'

The principal thing he contracted for in friendship was a free use of mutual admonition; which he confined not to the grosser guilts, which enemies and common fame were likely to observe and mind men of, but extended it unto prudential failings, indecencies, and even suspicious and barely doubtful actions; nay, beyond that, unto those virtuous ones, which might have been improved and rendered better. He was used to say, 'it was a poor design of friendship to keep the person he admitted to his breast only from being scandalous; as if the physician should endeavour only to secure his patient from the plague.' And what he thus articulated for he punctually himself performed, and exacted back again to be returned unto himself.

And if for any while he observed that no remembrance had been offered to him, he grew afraid and almost jealous of the omission, suspecting that the courtier had supplanted the friend; and therefore earnestly enforced the obligation of being faithful in this point: and when with much ado somewhat of advertisement was picked up, he received it always as huge kindness; and though the whole ground of it happened to be mistake, yet he still returned most affectionate thanks.

His good will, when placed on any, was so fixed and rooted, that even supervening vice, to which he had the greatest detestation imaginable, could not easily remove it; the abhorrency of their guilts leaving not only a charity, but tenderness to their persons; and, as he has professed, his concernment rather increased than lessened by this means, compassion being in that instance added unto love. There were but two things, which (he would say) were apt to give check to his affections, pride and falseness: where he saw these predominant, he thought he could never be a friend to any purpose, because he could never hope to do any good; yet even there he would intend his prayers, so much the more by how much the less he could do besides.

But where he saw a malleable, honest temper, a Jacob's plain simplicity, nothing could there discourage him; and however inadvertency or passion, or haply some worse ingredient, might frustrate his design, he would attend the *mollia tempora*, as he called them, those gentle and more treatable opportunities, which might at last be offered. He so much abhorred artifice and cunning, that he had prejudice to all concealments and pretensions. He used to say he hated a *non-causa*, and he had a strange sagacity in discovering it. When any with much circumlocution and contrivance had endeavoured to shadow their main drift and purpose, he would immediately look through all those mists, and, where it was in any degree seasonable, would make it appear he did so: his charity of fraternal correction having only this caution or restraint, the hearer's interest; of which he judged, that when advice did not do good, it was hardly separable from doing harm; and on this ground sometimes he did desist. But wheresoever he gave an admonition, he prefaced it always with such demonstrations of tenderness and goodwill, as could not fail to convince of the affectionate kindness with which it was sent, though it could not of the convenience or necessity to embrace it: and this he gave as a general rule, and enforced by his example, 'never to reprove in anger,' or the least appearance of it. If the passion were real, that then was evidently a fault, and the guilty person most unfit to be a judge; if it were resemblance only, yet even that would be so like to guilt, as probably to divert the offender from the consideration of his failance to fasten on his monitor, and make him think he was chid not because he was in fault, but because the other was angry.

Indeed, the person who would not be some way moved with his advices must be strangely insensate and ill-natured. Though his exhortations had as much evidence and weight as words could give them, he had over and above a great advantage in his manner of speaking. His little phrase, 'Don't be simple,' had more power to charm a passion than long harangues from others; and very many, who loved not piety in

itself, nor to be troubled with the news of it, would be well pleased to be invited and advised by him, and venerated the same matter in his language, which they have derided in another's.

He would say, 'He delighted to be loved, not revered;' thinking that where there was much of the latter, there could not be enough of the former; somewhat of restraint and distance attending on the one, which was not well consistent with the perfect freedom requisite to the other. But as he was thus no friend to ceremonious respect, he was an open enemy to flattery, especially from a friend, from whom he started to meet the slightest appearance of that servile kindness. Having upon occasion communicated a purpose, against which there happened to lie some objections, they being by a friend of his represented to him, he immediately was convinced, and assumed other counsels. But in process of discourse it happened something fell in that brought to mind a passage of a late sermon of the Doctor's, which that person having been affected with, innocently mentioned such apprehensions of it, and so passed on to talk of other matters. The next day the Doctor having recollected, that probably the approbation given to the passage of the sermon might be an after-design to allay the plain dealing which preceded it, expostulated his surmise, protesting 'that nothing in the world could more avert his love, and deeply disoblige him, than such unfaithfulness.' But being assured, that there was no such art or contrivance meant, he gladly found and readily yielded himself to have been mistaken. In other cases he was no way inclinable to entertain doubts of his friends' kindness: but if any irregularity chanced to intervene, and cause misapprehensions, he gave them not leave to root and fasten by concealment, but immediately produced his ground of jealousy; and exacted the like measure back again, if his own proceedings fell at any time under a doubtful or unkind appearance. This he thought a justice essential to friendship, without which it could not possibly subsist; for we think not fit to condemn the most notorious malefactor, before he hath had licence to propose his plea;

and sure it is more strangely barbarous to treat a friend, or rather friendship itself, with less regard.

To the performances of friendship he hated all mercenary returns, whereof he was so jealous, as hardly to leave place for gratitude. 'Love,' he said, 'was built upon the union and similitude of minds, and not the bribery of gifts and benefits.' So generous was he herein, that he has oft professed, he 'admitted retributions of good turns, yet not so much on any score, as that his friend might have the pleasure of being kind.'

There was a person of quality, a great and long sufferer in the late times of trial, to whom the Doctor had frequently sent supplies, and continued so to do, till there happened at last a change in the condition of the correspondent, such a one as, if it did not supersede the need of farther assistance, yet gave promise of an approaching affluence; whereupon the Doctor feared the adding a new obligation in this conjuncture of affairs might seem a piece of design rather than kindness or charity: and though this suggestion was not of force to divert his purpose, it proved sufficient to suspend it, till by inquiry he found his designed present would be a relief; and then he thought it an impertinence to consider what it could be called besides.

But doing good to relatives, or being kind unto acquaintance, were low expressions of this virtue we exhibit. Misery and want, wherever he met with them, sufficiently endeared the object. His alms was as exuberant as his love; and in calamities to the exigence he never was a stranger, whatever he might be to the man that suffered.

And here the first preparative was to leave himself no motive to resist or slight the opportunities of giving; which he compassed by being a steward to himself as well as unto God, and parting still with the propriety of a set portion of his estate, that when at any time he relieved the wants of any, he might become no whit the poorer by his gift, have only the content of giving, and the ease of being rid of keeping another's money. The rate and sum of what he thus devoted was the tenth of all his income; wherein he was so strictly

punctual, that commonly the first thing he did was to compute and separate the poor man's share. To this he added every week five shillings, which had been his lowest proportion in the heat of the war in Oxford, when he lived upon his Penshurst stock, and had no visible means or almost possibility of supply. Over and above this he completed the devotions of his weekly fast by joining alms thereto, and adding twenty shillings to the poor man's heap.

These were his debts to charity, the established fixed revenue of the indigent; in the dispensation of which he was so religiously careful, that if at any time he happened to be in doubt whether he had set apart his charitable proportions, he always passed sentence against himself, resolving it much better to run the hazard of having paid the same debt twice, than to incur the possibility of not having done it once. But beyond these he had his free-will offerings, and those proportioned more by the occasion of giving, than the surplusage he had to give. His poor man's bag had so many mouths, and those so often opened, that it frequently became quite empty: but its being so never diverted him from relieving any that appeared in need; for in such seasons he chose to give in more liberal proportions than at others.

In the time of the war at Oxford, to pass by other lesser reliefs, and many great ones, which his industrious concealment has preserved from all notice of the most diligent inquiry, though he were then at a very low ebb, he furnished an indigent friend with sixty pounds, which never was repaid him; as also upon another score he parted with twenty pounds, and another considerable sum besides that; and to one in distress about the same time, and on the same occasion, a hundred pounds.

Instead of hiding his face from the poor, it was his practice still to seek for their's. Those persons whom he trusted with (his greatest secret and greatest business) his charity, seldom had recourse to him, but he would make inquiry for new pensioners; and though he had in several parts of the nation those whom he employed to find out indigent persons, and dispose his largess to them;

and though the tyranny that then prevailed made every day store of such, his covetous bounty still grasped for more. Besides his ordinary provision for the neighbouring poor, and those that came to look him out in his retirement (which were not few, for that the liberal man dwells always in the road), his catalogue had an especial place for sequestered divines, their wives and orphans, for young students in the universities, and also those divines that were abroad in banishment: where, over and above his frequent occasional reliefs to the last of these, the exiled clergy, besides what he procured from others, he sent constantly over year by year a very considerable sum, such a one as men of far greater revenues do not use upon any occasion to put into the *corban*, and give away, much less as a troublesome excrescence every year, prune off, and cast from their estates.

Now if we inquire into the stock and fountain that was to feed all these disbursements, it was at his flight from Penshurst barely three hundred pounds; which, at the sale of a lease left him for his portion from his father, and the assistance of his prebend in Christchurch, after all his lavish charities during those years, was near upon a thousand. The taking of use though he judged lawful, yet never approved by practice, but lent still gratis both to friends and strangers. The only other way he had of income was the buying of leases for years, and the printing of his books; from the latter of which when there is defalked the many whole editions he had nothing for, the charge he was at in the sending of his copies, before he printed them, unto his friends for their animadversions and advices, his sending them sheet by sheet when printed, and surveying the revises, and the great numbers he gave away to his acquaintance, it will appear that the remainder was but a slight matter. As for private contributions, or assistance of that kind, he had never any; for though there were many who would gladly have made those oblations, yet he industriously prevented them, by public avowing, that he needed not: in which refusal he was so peremptory, that when being in Oxford made prisoner at the sign of the Bear, thence to

be sent immediately to Wallingford castle, a gentleman, perfectly a stranger to him, and coming by chance to the inn, and hearing of his condition, having fifty pieces by him, would needs have presented them to him; though the Doctor had before him the barbarous usage of his brethren, clapped on shipboard under hatches, the like to which he might probably enough meet with; and though this extraordinary occurrence seemed to carry with it somewhat of providential designment; yet he wholly refused the offer, as afterward he did a far greater sum from a person of honour that courted him with it. Only one twenty pound he was surprised by, and thought fit to accept, which, after some dispute with himself, he did upon these two grounds: first, that he might not gratify the pride from whence he was used to say men's reluctances to receive benefits proceeded; and secondly, that he might not give the gentleman the discomfiture of seeing he had made an unseasonable offer.

But with all this disproportioned expense unto revenue (a thing which after a very deliberate and strict inquiry remains a riddle still, and an event next door to miracle), the Doctor daily improved in his estate, and grew, in spite of all his liberality, rich; being worth at the time of his death about 1500*l*: which yet we are not to marvel should be strange to us, since it was so to the Doctor himself, who often professed to wonder at it, and thereupon would apply this axiom, that 'half is more than the whole;' his mean revenue, by being scattered in the worst of times, growing upon him, when others, that had great ones, by griping made them less, and grew stark beggars.

As the Doctor was thus charitable, so was he gentle and liberal; his openness of hand in secular occasions was proportionable to that in sacred. When any one had sent him a slight present of apples or the like, his reward would usually much exceed the value; and he would be so well pleased to have such an occasion of giving to a servant, saying, 'Alas, poor soul, I warrant he is glad of this little matter,' that this seemed a part of the sender's courtesy. Thus if there happened

any other occasion of giving, or of gratifying or advancing public works (for instance, the great Bible, upon which he was out fifty pounds, and reimbursed himself only by selling two copies), he would be sure to do it at a free and highly ingenuous rate: so that he was sparing only to himself, and that upon no other principle, but thereby to be liberal to those he loved better than himself, the necessitous and poor. A pregnant instance whereof may be, that the Doctor upon occasion calculating his expenses on himself, found them to be not above five pounds in the year.

Besides this he had a further impediment to riches, an easiness which alone has wasted other men's estates: he commonly making those he dealt with their own arbitrators; and if they seriously professed they could go no higher, he descended to their terms, saying commonly, that 'this trash was not worth much ado.' And beyond this he was so careless after bargains, that he never received script of paper of any to whom he lent, nor bond of any for performance of covenants, till very lately from two persons, when he found it necessary to use that method with them. He was used to say, 'that if he thought men knaves, he would not deal with them; and if indeed they were so, it was not all his circumspection that could prevent a cheat: on the other side, if they were honest, there needed no such caution.' And possibly if we consider the whole matter, there was not such imprudence in the manage, as at first appears; for bonds would have signified little to him, who in the best times would scarce have put them in suit; but would certainly have starved before he would have made an application to those judicatories which of late prevailed, and usurped the protection as well as the possession of men's rights, and were injurious not only in their oppressions but reliefs.

In those black days, being charged with the debt of about fifty or sixty pounds, formerly by him paid, being offered a release if he would take his oath of payment, he thought the condition too unequal, and was resolved to double his payment rather than perform it:

but a farther inquiry having cleared the account, he incurred not that penalty.

To a friend of his, who, by the falseness of a correspondent whom he trusted, was reduced to some extremity, and inquired what course he took to escape such usage, the Doctor wrote as follows :

‘To your doubt concerning myself, I thank God I am able to answer you, that I never suffered in my life for want of hand or seal: but think I have fared much better than they that have always been careful to secure themselves by these cautions. I remember I was wont to reproach an honest fellow-prebend of mine, that, whensoever a siege was near, always sent away what he most valued to some other garrison or friend, and seldom ever met with any again, the solicitude was still their ruin: whereas I, venturing myself and my cabinet in the same bottom, never lost any thing of this kind. And the like I have practised in this other instance: whom I trusted to be my friend, all I had was in his power, and by God’s blessing was never deceived in my trust.’

And here, amidst all these unlikelihoods and seeming impossibilities, riches thrust themselves upon him, and would take no refusal; it pleasing God, since he had exemplified the advices of his ‘Practical Catechism’ to the duties of alms and charitable distributions, in him also to make good and signally exemplify the assurance he there and elsewhere made in the behalf of Almighty God upon such performance, the giving affluence of temporal wealth. Nor was he the single instance of this truth; as he had proselytes to the speculative verity, he had partisans also of the effect and real issue of it. About four years since, a person of good estate, and without charge of children, coming to visit the Doctor, among other discourse happened to speak of the late Dean of Worcester, Dr. Potter, whose memory, for his remarkable charity, and all other excellencies befitting his profession and dignity in the Church, is precious. This gentleman there related, that formerly inquiring of the Dean how it was possible for one that had so great a charge of children, was so hospitable in his entertainment,

and profuse in liberality, not only to subsist, but to grow rich ; he answered, that several years before he happened to be present at a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, where the preacher recommending the duty of alms and plentiful giving, assured his auditory, that that was the certainest way to compass riches. He, moved therewith, thenceforward resolved diligently to follow the counsel, and expect the issue ; which was such as now created so much wonder. It fortunately that at that time when this was telling, the Doctor's *Δεύτεραι Φροντίδες* were newly come out, and therewith this Sermon of the ' Poor Man's Tithing.' He therefore, willing to improve the opportunity, confessed ; that he himself was that preacher, which Dr. Potter referred to, and that there was the very Sermon : which immediately giving to this visitant, he desired Almighty God it might have the like effect on him ; and so, after a short civility, dismissed him.

As to the way and very manner of his charity, even that was a part of his donation and largess. One great care of his was to dispose of his reliefs so as to be most seasonable ; to which purpose he had his spies and agents still employed to give him punctual notice of the occurrents in their several stations. His next endeavour was to dispense them so as to be most endearing. To persons that had been of quality he consulted to relieve their modesty as well as needs, taking order they should rather find than receive alms ; and knowing well they were provided for, should not yet be able to guess by what means they were so. To those who were assisted immediately from his hand, he over and above bestowed the charities of his familiar and hearty kindness ; in the expressiveness of which he was not only assisted by his habitual humility, or positive opinion, upon which he was used to say, that it was a most unreasonable and unchristian thing to despise any one for his poverty ; but much more by the pleasure and transport which the very act of giving transfused into him : which whosoever noted, stood in need of no other proof of the truth of his usual affirmation, ' That it was one of the greatest sensualities in the world

to give.' Upon which consideration he often took occasion to magnify the exceeding indulgence of God, that had annexed future rewards to that which was so amply its own recompence. Another circumstance in the Doctor's liberality not to be passed over was his choice of what he gave; his care that it should not be of things vile and refuse, but of the very best he had. It happened that a servant in the family being troubled with the gout, the Doctor gave order, that he should have some of the plaister which he used in the like extremity: but the store of that being almost spent, the person intrusted in this office gave of another sort, which was of somewhat less reputation; which practice the Doctor within a while coming to know, was extremely troubled at it, and complained of that unseasonable kindness unto him, which disregarded the pressing interests and wants of another person, and thereby gave him a disquiet parallel to that which a fit of the gout would have done.

But besides this of giving, the alms of lending had an eminent place in the practice as well as judgment of the Doctor. When he saw a man honest and industrious, he would trust him with a sum, and let him pay it again at such times and in such proportions as he found himself able: withal when he did so, he would add his counsel too, examine the person's condition, and contrive with him how the present sum might be most advantageously disposed; still closing the discourse with prayer for God's blessing, and after that dismissing him with infinite affability and kindness. In which performance as he was exuberant to all, so most especially to such as were of an inferior degree; giving this for a rule to those of his friends that were of estate and quality, to treat their poor neighbours with such a cheerfulness, that they may be glad to have met with them. And as upon the grounds of his most gentle and obliging humanity he never suffered any body to wait that came to speak with him, though upon a mere visit, but broke off his beloved studies, upon which his intention was so great, that he extremely grudged to be interrupted by any bodily concernment of his own, and so would often intermit his

prescribed walks and suppers in pursuance of it: so with a more exceeding alacrity he came down when it was told him that a poor body would speak with him. Such of all others he loved not to delay; and so much he desired that others should do the same, that when the lady of the house, diverted either by the attractives of his discourse, or some other occasion, delayed the clients of her charity in alms, or that other most commendable one in surgery, he in his friendly way would chide her out of the room.

As poverty thus recommended to the Doctor's care and kindness, in an especial manner it did so when piety was added to it: upon which score a mean person in the neighbourhood, one Houseman, a weaver by trade, but by weakness disabled much to follow that or any other employment, was extremely his favourite. Him he used with a most affectionate freedom; gave him several of his books, and examined his progress in them; invited him, nay importuned him still to come to him for whatever he needed; and at his death left him ten pounds as a legacy. A little before which fatal time, he and the Lady P. being walking, Houseman happened to come by; to whom after the Doctor had talked awhile in his usual friendly manner, he let him pass; yet soon after called him with these words; 'Houseman, if it should please God that I should be taken from this place, let me make a bargain between my lady and you; that you be sure to come to her with the same freedom you would to me for any thing you want:' and so with a most tender kindness gave his benediction. Then turning to the lady, said, 'Will you not think it strange I should be more affected for parting from Houseman than from you?' His treating the poor man when he came to him in his sickness was parallel hereto in all respects.

Such another acquaintance he had at Penshurst, one Sexton, whom he likewise remembered in his will, and to whom he was used to send his more practical books, and to write extreme kind letters, particularly inquiring of the condition of himself and children; and when he heard he had a boy fit to put out to school, allowed him a pension to that purpose; and also with

great contentment received from him his hearty, though scarce legible, returns.

Nor will this treatment from the Doctor seem any thing strange to them that shall consider how low a rate he put upon those usual distinctives, birth or riches; and withal how high a value on the souls of men: for them he had so unmanageable a passion, and that it often broke out into words of this effect, which had with them still in the delivery an extraordinary vehemence; 'O what a glorious thing, how rich a prize for the expense of a man's whole life were it to be the instrument of rescuing any one soul!' Accordingly in the pursuit of this design he not only wasted himself in perpetual toil of study, but most diligently attended the offices of his calling, reading daily the prayers of the Church, preaching constantly every Sunday, and that many times when he was in so ill a condition of health, that all besides himself thought it impossible, at least very unfit, for him to do it. His subjects were such as had greatest influence on practice, which he pressed with most affectionate tenderness, making tears part of his oratory. And if he observed his documents to have failed of the desired effect, it was matter of great sadness to him; where, instead of accusing the parties concerned, he charged himself that his performances were incompetent to the designed end, and would solicitously inquire what he might do to speak more plainly or more movingly; whether his extemporary wording might not be a defect, and the like. Besides this, he liberally dispensed all other spiritual aids: from the time that the children of the family became capable of it till his death, he made it a part of his daily business to instruct them, allotting the interval betwixt prayers and dinner to that work; observing diligently the little deviations of their manners, and apply remedies unto them. In like sort, that he might ensnare the servants also to their benefit, on Sundays in the afternoon he catechised the children in his chamber, giving liberty, nay invitation, to as many as would, to come and hear, hoping they haply might admit the truths obliquely levelled, which bashfulness persuaded not to inquire for, lest they thereby should own the

fault of former inadvertence. Besides, he publicly declared himself ready and desirous to assist any person single, and to that purpose having particularly invited such to come at their leisurable hours, when any did so, he used all arts of encouragement and obliging condescension; insomuch that having once got the scullion in his chamber upon that errand, he would not give him the uneasiness of standing, but made him sit down by his side; though in other cases, amidst his infinite humility, he knew well how to assert the dignity of his place and function from the approaches of contempt. Upon this ground of ardent love to souls, a very disconsolate and almost desponding person happening some years since to come to him, there to unload the burthen of his mind, he kept him privately in his chamber for several days with a paternal kindness, answering every scruple which that unhappy temper of mind too readily suggested, and with unwearied patience attending for those little arguments which in him were much more easily silenced than satisfied. This practice continued, till he at last discovered his impressions had in good proportion advanced to the desired effect, which proceeded carefully in this method, that duty still preceded promise, and strict endeavour only founded comfort.

On the same motive of this highest charity, when some years since a young man, who by the encouragement of an uncle, formerly the Head of a House in Oxford, had been bred up to learning, but by his ejection at the visitation was diverted from that course to a country life, and being so, to engage him therein was also married and had children; amidst his toilsome avocations continued to employ his vacant hours in study; and happening on some of the Doctor's writings, was so affected with them, as to leave his wife and family, and employment, to seek out the Doctor himself; whom being accordingly addressed unto, the excellent Doctor met this unknown romantic undertaker with his accustomed kindness, and most readily received this votary and proselyte to learning into his care and pupilage for several years, affording him all kind of assistance both in studies and temporal sup-

port, till he at last arrived at good proficiency in knowledge, and is at present a very useful person in the church.

Nor could this zeal to the eternal interest of souls be superseded by any sight of danger, however imminent. The last year, one in the neighbourhood, mortally sick of the small pox, desiring the Doctor to come to him, as soon as he heard of it, though the disease did then prove more than usually fatal, and the Doctor's age and complexion threatened it particularly so to him, and though one might discern in his countenance vigorous apprehensions of the danger, he presently suppressed his fears, staying only so long as to be satisfied whether the party was so sensible that a visit might possibly be of use, and being informed thereof, cheerfully went; telling the person that happened to be present, whose dreads in his behalf were not so easily deposited, that 'he should be as much in God's hands in the sick man's chamber as in his own : ' and not contented with going once, appointed the next day to have returned again ; which he had done, had not the patient's death absolved him of his promise.

So likewise when at another time a gentleman of no very laudable life had in his sickness desired to speak with the Doctor, which message, through the negligence of the person employed, was not delivered till he that sent it was in the last agonies of death ; the Doctor was very much affected at it, passionately complaining of the ' brutishness of those that had so little sense of a soul in that sad state ; ' and pouring out his most fervent prayers in his behalf, requested farther, ' that by this example others, and in particular the companions of that unhappy person's vice, might learn how improper a season the time of sickness, and how unfit a place the death-bed is, for that one great important work of penitence, which was intended by Almighty God the one commensurate work of the whole life.'

But though to advance the spiritual concerns of all that could in any kind become receptive of the good he meant them was his unlimited designment and endeavour, yet to nourish and advance the early virtue of young persons was his more chosen study : when he

saw such a one, he would contrive and seek out ways to insinuate and endear himself, lay hold of every opportunity to represent the beauty, pleasure, and advantage of a pious life ; and on the other side to express the toil, the danger, and the mischief of brutal sensuality. Withal he would be still performing courtesies, thereby to oblige, of very gratitude to him, obedience and duty unto God.

Where, to pass by the many instances that he gave of this his charity, it will not be amiss to insist on one as a specimen of the rest, which was thus. It happened during the Doctor's abode in Oxford in the war, that a young man of excellent faculties, and very promising hopes in that place, by his love to music was engaged in the company of such who had that one good quality alone to recommend their other ill ones. The Doctor finding this, though otherwise a stranger to the person, gave him in exchange his own ; and, taking him as it were into his own bosom, directed him to books, and read them with him ; particularly a great part of Homer, at a night dispatching usually a book, and if it proved holiday, then two ; where his comical expression was, when one Iliad was done, to say, ' Come, because it is holiday, let us be jovial, and take the other Iliad ;' reflecting on the mode of the former debauchees, whose word it was, ' 'Tis holiday, let us take the other pint.'

And as the Doctor laboured in the rescue of single persons, he had an eye therein to multitudes ; for wherever he had planted the seeds of piety, he presently cast about to extend and propagate them thereby to others : engaging all his converts ' not to be ashamed of being reputed innocent, or to be thought to have a kindness for religion ; but own the seducing men to God with as much confidence at least as others use when they are factors for the devil : and, instead of lying on the guard, and the defensive part,' he gave in charge, ' to choose the other of the assailant.' And this method he commended, ' not only as the greatest service unto God, and to our neighbour, but as the greatest security to ourselves ; it being like the not expecting of a threatened war at home, but carrying it abroad into

the enemy's country. And nothing in the Christian's warfare he judged so dangerous as a truce, and the cessation of hostility. Withal, parley, and holding intelligence with guilt, in the most trivial things, he pronounced as treason to ourselves, as well as unto God: for while,' saith he, 'we fight with sin, in the fiercest shock of opposition we shall be safe; for no attempts can hurt us, till we treat with the assailants; temptations of all sorts having that good quality of the devil in them, to fly when they are resisted.' Besides, whereas young people are used to varnish over their non-performance and forbearance of good actions by a pretence unto humility and bashful modesty, saying, they are ashamed for to do this or that, as being not able for to do it well, he assured them, 'this was arrant pride, and nothing else.'

Upon these grounds his motto of instruction to young persons was, 'Principiis obsta,' and 'Hoc age,' to withstand the overtures of ill, and be intent and serious in good; to which he joined a third advice, 'to be furnished with a friend.' Accordingly, at a solemn leave-taking of one of his disciples, he thus discoursed: 'I have heard say of a man, who, upon his death-bed, being to take his farewell of his son, and considering what course of life to recommend that might secure his innocence, at last enjoined him to spend his time in making of verses, and in dressing a garden; the old man thinking no temptation could creep into either of these employments. But I, instead of these expedients, will recommend these other; the doing all the good you can to every person, and the having of a friend; whereby your life shall not only be rendered innocent, but withal extremely happy.'

Now, after all these excellences, it would be reason to expect, that the Doctor, conscious of his merit, should have looked, if not on others with contempt, yet on himself with some complacency and fair regard: but it was far otherwise; there was no enemy of his, however drunk with passion, that had so mean an esteem either of him or of his parts, as he had both of the one and other. As at his first appearing in public he was clearly over-reached and cheated into the own-

ing of his books; so, when he found it duty to go on in that his toilsome trade of writing, he was wont seriously to profess 'himself astonished at their reception into the world, especially, as he withal was pleased to add, since others failed herein, whose performances were infinitely beyond any thing which he was able to do.'

From this opinion of his mediocrity at best, and the resolution of not making any thing in religion public before it had undergone all tests, in point not only of truth, but prudence, proceeded his constant practice of subjecting all his writings to the censure and correction of his friends, 'engaging them at that time to lay aside all their kindness, or rather to evidence their love by being rigidly censorious.' There is scarce any book he wrote that had not first travelled on this errand, of being severely dealt with, to several parts of the nation before it saw the light; nay, so scrupulous was the Doctor herein, that he has frequently, upon suggestion of something to be changed, returned his papers the second time unto his censor, to see if the alteration was exactly to his mind, and generally was never so well pleased as when his packets returned with large accessions of objectings and advertisements. And in this point he was so strangely advisable, that he would advert unto the judgment of the meanest person, usually saying, 'That there was no one that was honest to him, by whom he could not profit: withal, that he was to expect readers of several sorts; and if one illiterate man was stumbled, it was likely others of his form would be so too, whose interest, when he writ to all, was not to be passed over. Besides, those less-discerning observators, if they could do nothing else,' he said, 'could serve to draw teeth;' that is, admonish if ought were said with passion or sharpness, a thing the Doctor was infinitely jealous of in his writings. Many years since he having sent one of his tracts unto an eminent person in this church, to whom he bore a very high and merited regard, to be looked over by him; he sending it back without any amendment, but with a profuse compliment of liking every thing; the good Doctor was much affected

with the disappointment, only comforted himself herein, that 'he had reaped this benefit, to have learned never to send his papers to that hand again;' which resolution to his dying day he kept.

Nor was this caution before the publishing of his books sufficient, but was continued after it, the Doctor importuning still his friends to send him their objections, if in any point they were not satisfied; which he with great indifference considered in his reviews and subsequent editions: however took more kindly the most impertinent exception, than those advertisements of a different kind which brought encomiums and lavish praises, which he heard with as great distaste as others do the most virulent reproaches.

A farther proof of this low esteem the Doctor had of himself (if such were possible) would be meekness to those that slighted him and disparaged his abilities; this being the surest indication that our humility is in earnest, when we are content to hear ill language not only from ourselves, but from our enemies: which with how much indifference this inimitable person did, it is neither easy fully to describe, nor to persuade to just belief. The short is, as he was never angry with his pertinacious dissenters for not being of his mind in points of speculation; no more was he in the least with his scornful opposites, for their being of it in their little value of his person. And though he had, as well as other men, seeds of incitation in his natural temper, and more than others temptation to it in his daily and almost intolerable injuries; yet such was the habitual mastery he had gained over himself, that the strictest considerers of his actions have not, in ten years' perpetual conversation, seen his passion betray him to an indecent speech.

Nor was his sufferance of other kinds less exemplary than that he evidenced in the reception of calumny and foul reproach: for though 'pain were that to which,' he was used to say, 'he was of all things most a coward,' yet being under it he shewed an eminent constancy and perfect resignation.

At the approach of sickness his first consideration was, 'what failing had provoked the present chastise-

ment;' and to that purpose made his earnest prayer to God (and enjoined his friends to do the like), 'to convince him of it; nor only so, but tear and rend away, though by the greatest violence and sharpest discipline, whatever was displeasing in his eyes, and grant not only patience, but fruitfulness, under the rod.' Then by repeated acts of submission would he deliver himself up into God's hands, to do with him as seemed him good; amidst the sharpest pains meekly invoking him, and saying, 'God's holy will be done.' And even then, when on the rack of torture, would he be observing every circumstance of allay: 'When it was the gout, he would give thanks it was not the stone or cramp; when it was the stone, he then would say it was not so sharp as others felt, accusing his impatience that it appeared so bad to him as it did.' And then, when some degree of health was given, he exerted all his strength in a return of grateful recognition to the Author of it, which he performed with a vivacious sense and cheerful piety, frequently reflecting on the Psalmist's phrase, 'that it was a joyful thing to be thankful.' Which his transport whoever should attentively observe, would easily apprehend how possible it was for the infinite fruitions of another world to be made up by the perpetual act of grateful recognition, in giving lauds and singing praises unto God.

Upon this score he was a most diligent observer of every blessing he received, and had them still in readiness to confront unto those pressures he at any time lay under. In the intermissions of his importunate maladies he would with full acknowledgment mention the great indulgence, that he, 'who had in his constitution the cause of so much pain still dwelling with him, should yet, by God's immediate interposing, be rescued from the effect.'

To facilitate yet more this his serenity and calm of mind, he laid this rule before him, which proved of great use; 'Never to trouble himself with the foresight of future events;' being resolved of our Saviour's maxim, that 'sufficient to the day is the evil thereof; and that it were the greatest folly in the world to per-

plex oneself with that, which perchance will never come to pass; but if it should, then God who sent it will dispose it to the best; most certainly to his glory, which should satisfy us in our respects to him, and, unless it be our fault, as certainly to our good; which, if we be not strangely unreasonable, must satisfy in reference unto ourselves and private interests. Besides all this, in the very dispensation God will not fail to give such allays, which (like the cool gales under the Line) will make the greatest heats of sufferance very supportable. In such occasions he usually subjoined Epictetus's dilemma, 'Either the thing before us is in our power, or it is not: if it be let us apply the remedy, and there will be no motive for complaint; if it be not, the grief is utterly impertinent, since it can do no good.' As also from the same author he annexed this consideration, 'that every thing has two handles; if the one prove hot, and not to be touched, we may take the other that is more temperate.' And in every occurrent he would be sure to find some cool handle, that he might lay hold of.

And to enforce all this he made a constant recourse to the experience of God's dealing with him in preceding accidents, which however dreadful at a distance, at a nearer view lost much of their terror. And for others that he saw perplexed about the manage of their difficult affairs, he was wont to ask them, 'When they would begin to trust God or permit him to govern the world?' Besides, unto himself and friends he was wont solemnly to give this mandate, '*Quod sis esse velis, nihilque malis;*' in his English, 'to rather nothing;' not only to be content or acquiesce, but be resolved the present state to be the very best that could be wished or fancied.

And thus all private concernments he passed over with a perfect indifference; the world and its appendages hanging so loose about him, that he never took notice when any part dropped off, or sate uneasily. Herein indeed he was concerned and rendered thoughtful, if somewhat intervened that had a possibility of duty appendant to it; in which case he would be solicitous to discern where the obligation lay: but pre-

sently rescued himself from that disquiet by his addresses unto God in prayer and fasting, which was his certain refuge in this as well as other exigents; and if the thing in question were of moment, he called in the devotions of his friends. Besides this case, he owned to have some kind of little discomposure in the choice of things perfectly indifferent; for where there was nothing to determine him, the balance, by hanging even, became tremulous, and by a propensity to either side inclined to neither; making useless offers, but promoting nothing: which condition of mind he was wont to call 'the deliberation of Buridan's ass.'

Upon which grounds, of all other things he most disliked the being left to make a choice, and hugely applauded the state of subjection to a superior, where an obsequious diligence was the main ingredient of duty; as also he did the state of subjection unto pressure, as a privilege and blessing. And though he prayed as much, and withal as heartily, as any person, for the return of the nation from captivity, he always first premised the being made receptive of such mercy by the intervention of repentance. He would often both publicly and privately assert solemnly, 'That prosperous iniquity would not be deliverance, but the most formidable judgment: that the nation, during its pressures, was under the discipline of God, given up to Satan by a kind of ecclesiastic censure; and should the Almighty dismiss us from his hands, and put us into our own, give us up to ourselves, with a Why should you be smitten any more? this were of all inflictions the most dreadful.' Though with admirable equanimity he could run over the black annals of this unhappy nation while its calamities were reckoned up, he could scarce hear the slightest mention of its incorrigible guilt without dissolving into tears; especially when he happened to advert unto the impudence of that hypocrisy which reconciled godliness and villany, and made it possible for men to be saints and devils both together; whereby religion grew ruinous to itself, and, besides the scandal of such enormities committed in the face of the sun, with such pretence to zeal and holiness, our faith became instructed to confute and baffle duty,

the Creed and the Commandments, belief and practice being brought into the lists, and represented as incompatible; while the flames intended for the sacred lamps, the establishment of doctrinals and speculative divinity, burnt up the altar and the temple, consumed not only charity, but good-nature too, and untaught the common documents of honest heathenism.

And while this public soul, in the contemplation of the mischief which our sins both were themselves and in their issues, great in their provocation, and fatal in their plagues, indulged unto his pious and generous griefs, yet even then, considering judgment not to be more just than useful to the sufferers, he found out means from that unlikely topic to speak comforts to himself and others.

In that last crisis of our gasping hopes, the defeat of the Cheshire forces, which promised all the misery consequent to the sway of a senate gorged in blood, and yet still thirsting more, and of a veteran army composed of desperate fanatics engaged in equal guilts among themselves, and equal hate against the other, and therewithal the religion, liberty, and being of the nation; he thus addresses himself to the desponding sorrows of a friend.

‘SIR,

Sept. 2.

‘I have received your last, and acknowledge the great fitness of it to the present opportunities, under which God hath pleased to place us. If we look about us, there was never any louder call to lamentation and bitter mourning; and the sharpest accents of these are visibly due to those continued provocations, which appear to have wrought all our woe: yet there is not wanting some gleam of light, if we shall yet by God’s grace be qualified to make use of it. It is the supreme privilege of Christianity to convert the saddest evils into the most medicinal advantages, the valley of Achor into the door of hope, the blackest tempest into the most perfect *εὐδία*: and it is certain you have an excellent opportunity now before you to improve and receive benefit by; and you will not despise that affection which attempts to tell you somewhat of

it. It is plainly this : that all kind of prosperity (even that which we most think we can justify the most importunate pursuance of, the flourishing of a church and monarchy) is treacherous and dangerous, and might very probably tend to our great ills : and nothing is so entirely safe and wholesome as to be continued under God's disciplines. Those that are not bettered by such methods would certainly be intoxicated and destroyed by the pleasanter draughts : and those that would ever serve God sincerely in affluence have infinitely greater advantages and opportunities for it in the adverse fortune. Therefore let us now all adore and bless God's wisest choices, and set vigorously to the task that lies before us, improving the present advantages, and supplying in the abundance of the inward beauty what is wanting to the outward lustre of a church ; and we shall not fail to find that the grotts and caves lie as open to the celestial influences as the fairest and most beautified temples. We are ordinarily very willing to be rich, and flatter ourselves that our aims are no other than to be enabled by much wealth to do much good ; and some live to see themselves confuted, want hearts when wealth comes in greatest abundance : so those that never come to make the experiment have yet reason to judge that God saw it fit not to lead them into temptation, lest, if they had been proved, they should have been found faithless. And the same judgment are we now obliged to pass for ourselves, and, by what God appears to have chosen for us, to resolve what he sees to be absolutely best for us ; and it must be our greatest blame and wretchedness, if what hath now befallen us be not effectually better for us, than whatever else even piety could have suggested to us to wish or pray for. And then, I pray, judge candidly whether any thing be in any degree sober or tolerable in any of us, beside the one great necessary wisdom as well as duty of resignation, and making God's choices ours also. I have been these three weeks under restraint by the gout and other pains, and am not yet on my legs ; yet, blessed be God, have all causes of thanksgiving, none of repining. And I shall with confidence pray and hope, that the great

multitudes of persons and families, that are now under far sharper exercises, will find as much greater allays and sweetnesses, and the black cloud (as oft it hath done) vanish undiscernibly.'

And when this most unlikely prophecy became fulfilled, when that black cloud he spoke of, contrary to all human expectation, broke not in tempest, but the fairest sunshine that ever smiled on this our land; when our despairs and resolute despondencies became unravelled by a miracle of mercy, which after-ages will be as far from giving credit to in its endearing most improbable circumstances, as this of ours (pardon the harshness of a true comparison) is from esteeming at its merited rate; our excellent patriot, and best of men, seeing the dawns of this welcome day, paid down at once his greatest thanks and heartiest deprecations as a tribute to it, passionately fearing what he had more passionately wished for, suspecting his own hopes, and weeping over his fruitions.

As to his sacred Majesty, he looked on his return with pity and compassion, as 'bringing him to that uneasy, if not insuperable, task of ruling and reforming a licentious people; to that most irksome sufferance of being worried with the importunities of covetous and ambitious men, the restless care of meeting the designs of mutinous and discontented spirits: resolving, his most wished return could only be a blessing to his people, but unto him could not be so; but only on the score, by having opportunities through glorious self-denials to do good.' And for all other persons he said, 'that, having seriously considered what sort of men would be better for the change, he could not think of any. As for the church,' it was certain, 'persecution was generally the happiest means of propagating that; she then grew fastest when pruned most: then of the best complexion and most healthy, when fainting through loss of blood. As to the laity, in all their several stations and estates they had so much perverted the healthful dispensations of judgment, that it was most improbable they should make any tolerable use of mercy. And lastly, in refe-

rence to himself he resolved' (though sure on weaker grounds) 'affliction most conducive.' During the current of that tyranny, which for so many years we all groaned under, he kept a constant equable serenity and unthoughtfulness in outward accidents: but the approaching change gave him somewhat of pensive recollection, insomuch that discoursing of occurrents, he broke forth into these words: 'I must confess I never saw that time in all my life, wherein I could so cheerfully say my *Nunc dimittis* as now. Indeed I do dread prosperity, I do really dread it. For the little good I am now able to do, I can do it with deliberation and advice: but if it please God I should live and be called to any higher office in the church, I must then do many things in a hurry, and shall not have time to consult with others; and I sufficiently apprehend the danger of relying on my own judgment.' Which words he spake with the greatest concernment of earnest melting passion as is imaginable. Accordingly it pleased Almighty God to deal; and having granted to his servant the satisfaction of a full return and gracious answer to his prayer in the then-every-day-expected reception of his sacred Majesty, not to deny his other great request of not sharing a temporary advantage from it: but as his merits were far beyond those transitory ensnaring retributions, to remove him from them to those solid and unmixed rewards, which could be nothing else than such, and would be such for ever.

But this sad part of our relation requiring to itself a fresh unwearied sorrow, and the saint-like manner of this excellent person's passage from the world being as exemplary and conducing to the uses of survivors as the notice of his life; we shall allow it a distinct apartment, and once again break off the thread of our discourse, for to resume it in its proper unentangled clue.

At the opening of the year 1660, when every thing visibly tended to the reduction of his sacred Majesty, and all persons in their several stations began to make way and prepare for it, the good Doctor was by the fathers of the church desired to repair to London, there

to assist in the great work of the composure of breaches in the church : which summons as he resolved unfit either to dispute or disobey, so could he not without much violence to his inclinations submit unto. But finding it his duty, he diverted all the uneasiness of antipathy and aversion into a deliberate preparation of himself for this new theatre of affairs, on which he was to enter ; where his first care was to fortify his mind against the usual temptations of business, place, and power. And to this purpose, besides his earnest prayers to God for his assistance, and disposal of him entirely to his glory, and a diligent survey of all his inclinations, and therein those which were his more open and less defensible parts, he farther called in and solemnly adjured that friend of his, with whom he had then the nearest opportunity of commerce, to study and examine the last ten years of his life, and with the justice due to a Christian friendship to observe his failances of all kinds, and shew them to him : which being accordingly attempted, the product, after a diligent inquest, only proving the representation of such defects which might have passed for virtue in another person ; his next prospect was abroad, what several ways he might do good unto the public : and knowing that the diocese of Worcester was by the favour of his Majesty designed his charge, he thought of several opportunities of charity unto that place, and among others particularly cast in his mind for the repair of the cathedral church, and had laid the foundation of a considerable advance unto that work. Which early care is here mentioned as an instance of his inflamed desire of doing good, and singular zeal to the house of God, and the restoring of a decent worship in a like decent place : for otherwise it was far from his custom to look forward into future events ; but still to attend and follow after Providence, and let every day bear its own evil. And now, considering that the nation was under its great crisis and most hopeful method of its cure, which yet if palliate and imperfect would only make way to more fatal sickness, he fell to his devotions on that behalf, and made those two excellent prayers which were published

immediately before his death, as they had been made immediately before his sickness, and were almost the very last thing he wrote.

Being in this state of mind, fully prepared for that new course of life, which had nothing to recommend it to his taste but its unpleasantness (the best allec-tive unto him), he expected hourly the peremptory mandate, which was to call him forth of his beloved retirements.

But in the instant more importunate, though infinitely more welcome, summons engaged him on his last journey ; for on the fourth of April he was seized by a sharp fit of the stone, with those symptoms that are usual in such cases ; which yet, upon the voidance of a stone, ceased for that time. However, on the eighth of the same month it returned again with greater violence ; and though after two days the pain decreased, the suppression of urine yet continued, with frequent vomitings, and a distention of the whole body, and likewise shortness of breath, upon any little motion. When, as if he had by some instinct a certain knowledge of the issue of his sickness, he almost at its first approach conceived himself in hazard : and whereas at other times, when he saw his friends about him fearful, he was used to reply cheerfully, ‘ that he was not dying yet ;’ now, in the whole current of his disease, he never said anything to avert suspicion, but addressed unto its cure, telling his friends with whom he was, ‘ that he should leave them in God’s hands, who could supply abundantly all the assistance they could either expect or desire from him ; and who would so provide, that they should not find his removal any loss.’ And when he observed one of them with some earnestness pray for his health and continuance, he with tender passion replied, ‘ I observe your zeal spends itself all in that one petition for my recovery ; in the interim you have no care of me in my greatest interest, which is, that I may be perfectly fitted for my change when God shall call me : I pray let some of your fervour be employed that way.’ And being pressed to make it his own request to God to be continued longer in the

world, to the service of the church, he immediately began a solemn prayer, which contained first a very humble and melting acknowledgment of sin, and a most earnest intercession for mercy and forgiveness, through the merits of his Saviour : next resigning himself entirely into his Maker's hands, he begged, 'that, if the divine wisdom intended him for death, he might have a due preparation for it; but if his life might be in any degree useful to the church, even to one single soul, he then besought Almighty God to continue him, and by his grace enable him to employ that life he so vouchsafed industriously and successfully.' After this he did with great affection intercede for this church and nation, and with particular vigour and enforcement prayed for 'sincere performance of Christian duty, now so much decayed, to the equal supplanting and scandal of that holy calling; that those who professed that faith might live according to the rules of it, and to the form of godliness superadd the power.' This with some repetitions and more tears he pursued, and at last closed all in a prayer for the several concerns of the family where he was. With this he frequently blessed God for so far indulging to his infirmity, as to make his disease so painless to him; withal to send it to him before he took his journey, whereas it might have taken him in the way, or at his inn, with far greater disadvantages.

Nor did he in this exigence desist from the exercise of his accustomed candour and sweetness, whereby he was used to entertain the addresses of the greatest strangers. For two scholars coming at this time to see him, when they having sent up their names, it appeared they were such as he had no acquaintance with, though they that were about the Doctor, considering his illness, proposed that a civil excuse might be made, and the visitants be so dismissed; he resisted the advice with greatest earnestness, saying, 'I will by no means have them sent away; for I know not how much they may be concerned in the errand they come about;' and gave order they should be brought up: and when upon trial it appeared that a compliment was the whole affair, yet the good Doctor

seemed much satisfied that he had not disappointed that unseasonable kindness.

Likewise his own necessities, however pressing, diverted not his concerns for those of others. It so happened that a neighbour lady languishing under a long weakness, he took care that the church-office for the sick should be daily said in her behalf; and though at the beginning of the Doctor's illness the Chaplain made no other variation, than to change the singular into the plural; yet, when his danger increased, he then thought fit to pray peculiarly for him; which the good Doctor would by no means admit, but said, 'O no, poor soul, let not me be the cause of excluding her;' and accordingly had those prayers continued in the more comprehensive latitude. And indeed those offices which had a public character upon them he peculiarly valued: for as to the forms of devotion appropriate to his extremity, he took care they should not exclude the public ones, but still gave these a constant place: and when in his sharp agonies his friends betook themselves to their extemporary ejaculations, he composed those irregularities by saying, 'Let us call on God in the voice of his church.'

And in seasons of this kind whereas the making of a will is generally an uneasy task, as being at once a double parting with the world; to him it was in all respects agreeable and welcome; for having bequeathed several legacies to his relatives and friends, and left the remainder of his estate to the disposal of his intimate and approved friend Dr. Henchman, now Lord Bishop of Salisbury, as if recovered from the worst part of his disease, the necessity of reflecting upon secular affairs, he became strangely cheerful, and overlooked the encroaching tyranny of sickness.

On the 20th of April, being Good Friday, he solemnly received the sacrament; and again on the 22d of April, which then was Easter-day: at which time, when the number of communicants was too great to have place in his bedchamber, and the whole office was overlong for him to go through with, it was ordered, that the service being performed in the usual apartment, a competent number should afterward

come up and communicate with him : which though he allowed as most fitting, yet he did so with grief and trouble, breaking out into this passionate complaint, 'Alas ! must I be excommunicated ?' To be absent from any part of public worship he thus deeply resented : so far was he from their opinion (and they would be thought godly too), who in their most healthful leisureable days make this not their penance, but election and choice.

Amidst his weakness and indisposition of all parts, in the act of celebration his devotion only was not faint or sick, but most intent and vigorous : yet equalled by his infinite humility, which discovered itself, as in his deportment, so particularly in that his pathological ejaculation, which brake forth at the hearing of those words of the Apostle, 'Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners ;' unto which he rejoined, in an accent that neither intended a compliment to God nor men, to either of which he was not under a temptation, 'Of whom I am the chief.'

The exuberance of this humility appeared in all other occasions of instance : particularly about this time a letter being sent unto him, in which, among many expressions of great value, there was added an intimation, that 'there was now hope the days were come when his desert should be considered, and himself employed in the government as well as the instruction of the church ;' at this he was hugely discomposed, and expressed a grief and anguish beyond that his sickness in any period, however sharp, had extorted from him.

But now, through the long suppression of urine, the blood grown thin and serous, withal made eager and tumultuous by the mixture of heterogeneous parts, the excellent Doctor fell into a violent bleeding at the nose ; at which the by-standers being in astonishment, he cheerfully admonished 'to lay aside impatience in his behalf, and to wait God's leisure, whose seasons were still the best ;' withal thankfully acknowledged God's mercy in the dispensation, alleging, 'that to bleed to death was one of the most desirable passages out of this world.'

And truly he very justly made this observation ; for it pleased the Divine Providence strangely to balance the symptoms of the Doctor's disease to his advantage : for the sharp pains of the stone were allayed by that heaviness of sense, which the recuilment of serous moisture into the habit of the body and insertions of the nerves occasioned ; and when that oppression endangered a lethargic or apoplectic torpor, he was retained from that by the flux of blood : which several accidents interchangeably succeeded one the other, insomuch that in this whole time of sickness he neither had long violence of torment, nor diminution of his intellectual faculties. And here this violent hæmorrhage of which we now speak being of itself even miraculously stopped, when all applications were ineffectual, a drowsiness succeeding, which happened at the time of prayers, though he perfectly attended, and returned to every response amidst his importunate infirmity, he very sadly resented it, saying, ' Alas ! this is all the return I shall make to this mercy, to sleep at prayers.'

When he was in pain, he often prayed for patience ; and, while he did so, evidenced that his prayer was heard ; for he exercised not only that, but thankfulness too, in his greatest extremity crying out, ' Blessed be God, blessed be God.'

Nor did he, according to the usual method, inflict his sickness upon those about him, by peevishness disquieting his attendants ; but was pleased with every thing that was done, and liking every thing that was brought, condescending to all proposals and obeying with all readiness every advice of his physicians. Nor was it wonder he should so return unto the endeavours of his friends, who had tender kindness for his enemies, even the most inveterate and bloody. When the defeat of Lambert and his party, the last effort of gasping treason in this nation before its blessed return unto obedience, was told him, his only triumph was that of his charity, saying with tears in his eyes, ' Poor souls I beseech God forgive them.' So habitual was pity and compassion to his soul, that all representations centred there : virtue had still his prayers, because he

loved it ; and vice enjoyed them too, because it wanted them.

In his own greatest desolations he administered reliefs to those about him, mixing advices with his prayers, and twisting the tenderness of a friend to that of the Christian, he then dispensed his best of legacies, his blessings ; most passionately exhorting the young growing hopes of the family, whose first innocence and bashful shame of doing ill he above all things laboured to have preserved, to be just to the advantage of their education, and maintain inviolate their first baptismal vows : then more generally commended unto all the great advantage of mutual friendly admonitions : on which occasion, when the good lady asked him what more special thing he would recommend unto her for her whole life, he briefly replied, ‘ uniform obedience :’ whereby (if we may take a comment from himself at other times) he meant not only a sincere reception of duty as such, because commanded, and not because it is this or that, pleasant or honourable, or perchance cheap or easy duty ; but withal the very condition of obeying, the lot of not being to choose for one’s self, the being determined in all proposals by human or divine command, and where those left at large, by the guidance of God’s providence, or the assistance of a friend.

But amidst these most Christian divertisements, these happiest anodynes of sickness, the 25th of April fatally drew on, wherein his flux of blood breaking forth again with greater violence than it had done before, was not to be stopped by outward applications, nor the revulsives of any kind, not of its own, the opening of a vein, first in the arm, and after in the foot ; till at last the fountain being exhausted, the torrent ceased its course, and indeed that vital one, which its regular motion kept on foot : for the good Doctor leaving off to bleed about three o’clock in the afternoon, became very weak and dispirited, and cold in the extreme parts, had strength only continued to persevere in his devotions, which he did unto the last moment of his life, a few minutes be-

fore his death breathing out those words, which best became his Christian life, ' Lord, make haste.'

And so, upon that very day on which the Parliament convened, which laid the foundation of our release and liberty, and brought at once this nation's return from its captivity, and its gracious sovereign Prince, this great champion of religion and pattern of all virtue, as if reserved for masteries and combats of exigence and hazard, for persecution and sufferings, was taken hence, and by his loss repressed the overflowing and extravagance of those joys that waited the reception of his sacred Majesty.

It will be below the greatness of the person, as well as of this loss, to celebrate his death in womanish complaints, or indeed by any verbal applications: his worth is not to be described by any words besides his own; nor can any thing beseem his memory, but what is sacred and eternal as those writings are. May his just fame from them and from his virtue be precious to succeeding times, grow up and flourish still; and when that characters engraved in brass shall disappear, as if they had been writ in water; when elegies committed to the trust of marble shall be illegible as whispered accents; when pyramids dissolved in dust shall want themselves a monument to evidence that they were once so much as ruin; let that remain a known and classic history, describing him in his full portraiture among the best of subjects, of friends, of scholars, and of men.

The dead body being opened (which here is mentioned, for that the reader cannot want the curiosity to desire to know every thing that concerned this great person), the principal and vital parts appeared sound; only the right kidney, or rather its remainder, which exceeded not the bigness of an egg, was hard and knotty, and in its cavity, besides several little ones, a large stone of the figure of an almond, though much bigger, whose lesser end was fallen into the ureter, and as a stopple closed it up; so that it is probable that kidney had for divers years been in a manner useless. The other kidney was swollen beyond the na-

tural proportion, otherwise not much decayed; but within the ureter four fingers breadth a round white stone was lodged, which was so fastened in the part, that the physician with his probe could not stir it, and was fain at last to cut it out; and so exactly it stopped the passage, that upon the dissection the water before enclosed gushed forth in great abundance; from whence it appeared perfectly impossible for art to have ennobled itself in the preservation of this great person; as it was also manifest, that nothing but the consequences of his indefatigable study took him from us, in the perfection and maturity, the 55th year of his life.

On the morrow in the evening, 26th day of the same month, he was, according to his desire, without ostentation or pomp, though with all becoming decency, buried at the neighbour-church of Hampton, with the whole office and usual rites of the church of England, several of the gentry and clergy of the county, and affectionate multitudes of persons of less quality, attending on his obsequies, the clergy with ambition offering themselves to bear him on their shoulders; which accordingly they did, and laid that sacred burthen in the burial-place of the generous family which with such friendship had entertained him when alive: where now he rests in peace, and full assurance of a glorious resurrection.

Having thus given a faithful though imperfect draught of this excellent person, whose virtues are so far from imitation by practice, that they exercise and strain the comprehension of words; and having shewed how much he has merited of this nation in its most pressing exigents, both by his writings and by his example, and perchance above both these by his unwearied intercession in devotion; it may possibly be neither useless nor unacceptable to offer a request unto the reader in his behalf, and shew him an expedient, whereby he may pay his debt of gratitude, and eminently oblige this holy saint, though now with God.

It is this; to add unto his account in the day of retribution, by taking benefit by his performances; and as he being dead yet speaks, so let him persuade likewise.

That the covetous reader would now at his request put off his sordid vice, and take courage to be liberal, assured by his example, that, if in the worst of times profuseness could make rich, charity shall never bring to beggary.

That the proud opinionated person on the same terms would in civility to him descend from his fond heights, instructed here that lowly meekness shall compass great respects, and, instead of hate or flattery, be waited on with love and veneration.

That the debauched or idle would leave upon this score his lewd unwarrantable joys, convinced that strict and rugged virtue made an age of sunshine, a life of constant smiles, amidst the dreadfulest tempests; taught the gout, the stone, the cramp, the cholic, to be treatable companions, and made it eligible to live in bad times. and die in flourishing.

That the angry man, who calls passion at least justice, possibly zeal and duty, would for his sake assume a different temper, believe that arguments may be answered by saying Reason, calumnies by saying No, and railings by saying nothing.

The coward and disloyal, that durst not own in words, much less by service and relief, his prince, that complimented his apostacy and treason by the soft terms of changing an interest, will from hence learn, that the surest way to safety is to have but one interest, and that espoused so firmly as never to be changed; since such a constancy was that which a Cromwell durst not persecute.

That the employed in business would from hence dismiss their fears of regular piety, their suspicion that devotion would hinder all dispatch and manage of affairs; since it appeared, his constant office (like the prayer of Josuah, which made the sun standstill) seemed to have rendered unto him each day as long as two.

That the ambitious person, especially the ecclesiastic, would think employment and high place a stewardship, that renders debtors both to God and man; a residence at once of constant labour and attendance too; a precipice, that equally exposes both to envy and to ruin; and consequently to be that which should be-

come our greatest fear and terror, but at no hand our choice ; since it was that which this heroic constancy was not ashamed to own a dread of, and whose appearance did render death itself relief and rescue.

Lastly, that the narrow self-designing person, who understands no kindness but advantage ; the sensual, that knows no love but lust ; the intemperate, that owns no companion but drink ; may all at once from him reform their brutish errors : since he has made it evident, that a friend does fully satisfy these distant and importunate desires, being as the most innocent and certainly ingenuous entertainment, so besides that, the highest mirth, the greatest interest, and surest pleasure in the world.

They that had the happiness of a personal acquaintance with this best of men, this saint, who seems in our decays of ancient virtue lent us by special Providence even for this end and purpose, that we might not disbelieve the faith of history delivering the excellency of primitive Christians ; know with what thirst and eagerness of soul he sought the spiritual advantage of any single man how mean soever, with what enjoyment he beheld the recovery of any such from an ill course and habit : and whatever apprehensions other men may have, they will be easily induced to think, that if blessed spirits have commerce with earth (as surely we have reason to believe it somewhat more than possible), they, I say, will resolve it a connatural and highly agreeable accession unto his fruitions, that when there is joy in the presence of the angels of God for a sinner that repents, he may be an immediate accessory to that blessed triumph, and be concerned beyond the rate of a bare spectator.

Persuasions to piety now-a-days are usually in scorn called preaching : but it is to be hoped that this, how contemptible an office soever it be grown, will be no indecency in this instance ; that it will not be absurd if his history, who deservedly was reckoned among the best of preachers, whose life was the best of sermons, should bear a correspondence to its subject, and professedly close with an application : That it adjures all persons to be what they promised God Almighty

they would be in their baptismal vows, what they see the glorious saints, and martyrs, and confessors, and in particular this holy man, has been before them; be what is most honourable, most easy and advantageous to be at present; and, in a word, to render themselves such as they desire to be upon their death-beds, before they leave the world, and then would be for ever.

Which blessed achievement, as it was the great design of the excellent Doctor's both words and writings, his thoughts and actions, is also (besides the payment of a debt to friendship and to virtue) the only aim of this imperfect but yet affectionate and well-meant account. And may Almighty God, by the assistance of his grace, give all of these this their most earnestly-desired effect and issue.

THE END.

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